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In a general sense babies are supposed to come from the sky

wenumapu ("high land"). This is also one of the regions to which go the spirits of the dead, but no explicit connection is made between the two sets of ideas. It is the moon which, because of its supposed control of catamenia, is looked upon as the special god of children. When she wants a woman to become pregnant, she causes her menses to stop.[2] There is also a belief in an amorphous spirit of fertility, *choyūlchefe*, which controls germination and reproduction in all living things. Together with a feminine counterpart, *choyūlchefe* is supposed to dwell in bodies of water such as springs, pools, or cataracts. He is also associated with bees, which return in force each season when germination reaches a peak. *Choyūlchefe* is not represented in any concrete form and is not the object of prayers for fertility.

An ambivalent attitude exists toward sexual relations during menstruation. Such relations are forbidden on the grounds that both parties will be subject to disease; yet intercourse at these times, it is thought, will very likely result in impregnation. There is also a belief that women who regularly enjoy orgasms are more likely to have offspring.

Although children are usually greatly desired, there are special situations wherein pregnant women prefer to have abortions. Most frequently these cases involve unwed girls whose lovers refuse to marry them. If enough hard feeling has been aroused, such a girl may resort to a *machi*. The *machi* gives her a strong infusion of cinnamon bark, the bark of the *pucha* tree,[3] and a plant called *tropa* or *trupa*,[4] which is commonly known as devil's tobacco, and which was, in point of fact, formerly smoked by the Araucanians. If this potion proves too strong for the patient, she is given an antidote of *chillko* ("fuchsia"), and a kind of ginger (Spanish, *maqui;* Mapuche, *Kul-on*).

[2] Cf. Latcham, 1924, p. 626. Latcham, 1909, p. 347, described the moon as the wife of the sun.

[3] The Spanish term is *pataqua*, which Augusta (1916, I: 172), identified as *Myrceugenia pitra* Berg, family Myrtaceae.

[4] Identified by Augusta (*op. cit.*, pp. 236–37) as *Lobelia tupa* L., family Campanulaceae.

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also widely used in curing. A patient who runs a fever is bathed in water tinctured with fragrant leaves, massaged, wrapped in clean clothes, and put to bed. Swellings and inflammation are counteracted by the external application of burnt earth and ashes, taken from the fireplace and compounded with herbs. Similar mixtures are taken internally as a remedy for indigestion. So far as could be discovered, a professional shaman is never called in to treat a sick child under the age of puberty, nor are youngsters ever made the subjects of the elaborate and expensive curing rites known as *machitun*. If an infant dies it is promptly buried without much ceremony and is, apparently, soon forgotten.

Araucanians of today are very fond of their offspring and indulge their desires; they seldom scold or strike them. Only if children are exceptionally troublesome are they sometimes punished by slapping or whipping with a leather strap. Old-fashioned as well as modern child training puts great stress on the inculcation of respect. Children were taught to show respect to all their elders, and more particularly to the fathers of families, especially if they happened to be *loñkos*. Youngsters of either sex who showed disrespect by eating before their elders or by taking things without permission used to be punished by snatching or pinching at their genitals. (Incidentally, gripping a man's testicles, *lolotun*, was a common trick in fighting; and co-wives, *mũriwen*, occasionally punished a bad husband in this manner. This was a sanctioned procedure and was not supposed to lead to reprisals.)

Children were also taught not to lie or steal, never to desert their relatives, not to become too intimate with strangers, not to eavesdrop, and never to enter or look into strange houses. They were strongly cautioned against leaving home after dark, and those who disobeyed were told that *ñunechen* ("God") would cut short their lives; or else that an evil spirit, *añchi-malleu*, would snatch away their shadows (souls).

Until very recently bad little boys or girls were frightened by the sudden appearance of a man wearing a black mask, *koloñ*.[2]

[2] Typical masks are figured in Joseph, 1931a, p. 72.

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754 a broad-minded or kindly individual, or a leader who was willing 696 to take a chance in order to augment his following.

Nowadays, for fear of retaliation, witches are neither killed nor driven away, but they may be induced to leave voluntarily by means of intensive whispering campaigns, or because their neighbors obviously shun them. In fact, it is part of the education of children to warn them to have nothing to do with people suspected of witchcraft. There is reason to believe that some of the Chilean Araucanians who go to Argentina are people under suspicion of being sorcerers.

WITCHCRAFT ACTIVITIES

754 Witches' sabbaths are supposed to be observed in underground caverns or *renũs*. Almost all caves or depressions in the earth are likely to be regarded as *renũs*, wherein dwell all manner of dangerous beasts whom the sorcerers use as familiars. Greatly feared in this context are a wide range of animals including lizards, snakes, foxes, butterflies, partridges, dogs, rats, and, particularly, any creatures of unfamiliar appearance, monsters, or freaks such as two-headed calves. The cries of many [787] birds, or the appearance of animals that unexpectedly cross one's path, are widely held to be portents of sickness and death. So deep-seated is the fear of unusual animals, that some Araucanians who visit the zoological gardens in Santiago come away convinced that the keepers and, by extension, all Chileans must be powerful witches.

754 Sorcerers exercise their power by controlling evil spirits, the entire class of which may be termed *wekufũ*.[1] *Wekufũ* occur 776 in many guises, especially in the shapes of the aforementioned beasts and monsters, but they may also take other forms. Conspicuous among these are *piwichen*, a terrifying vampire, sight or sound of which is a sure portent of death, and *chañchañ*, which is described as a human head equipped with wings. To see or hear it while it is in flight portends death. Whether

[1] Latcham (1909, pp. 351 ff.) distinguished between *kuyenun* ("evil spirits") and *kuyenunyes* ("sorcerers"). He also set up separate categories for *kamyun* ("diviner") and *machi* ("witch doctor" or "exorcist").

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witches can directly control the actions of *pivichen* or *choñchoñ* is a moot question among the people, but all are agreed that these creatures are somehow implicated in sorcery. One popular tale will suffice to illustrate a number of witchcraft beliefs. It concerns a man who was courting a girl that lived at some distance from his home. Whenever he went to see her he would hear the call of a *choñchoñ* and begin to feel violently ill. His elders advised him that the next time this happened he should plunge his knife into the ground. He followed their instructions and, to his surprise, a winged head fell to earth. He thought that it resembled his mistress, so he hurried to her house and there he found her headless body lying on its back. Thereupon, he deliberately rolled the body over, to prevent the head from reattaching itself properly. Then he went home, and the very next day he received word that his sweetheart had died.

A common cluster of witchcraft practices revolves about the use of various things associated with heat and light. They are known collectively as *cherufe*, a word applied to a miscellaneous category that includes stones supposedly derived from the sun or active volcanoes, meteorites and aerolites, comets, shooting stars, and will-o-the-wisps. All witches are believed to own *cherufes*, particularly in the shape of oddly formed stones taken from flaming volcanoes. These particular *cherufes* are sometimes winged, and fly at the command of sorcerers to consume a victim's blood and make him subject to tuberculosis, pneumonia, or some other serious ailment.

Two other classes of *wekufü*, frequently involved in the exercise of sorcery, are *wirasalue* and *alchimalleu*. These terms signify two kinds of corpses stolen from graveyards and put to evil service by powerful witches. A *wirasalue* is made from the body of an adult and corresponds somewhat to our popular idea of a ghost. It is white, and its outline may be seen but never its face. Ordinarily, a *wirasalue* goes about only by night, on horseback. Its favorite trick is to bedevil and mislead any person traveling after dark, and to meet a *wirasalue* is a sure omen of disaster, sickness, or death. Exciting encounters with *wirasalue* and narrow escapes from them are favorite subjects

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526 There is a possibility that rituals accompany important inter-reservation games, but no rites are performed for local events.

An opportunity to witness a good contest came on the afternoon of Sunday, June 27, 1948. The weather was clear and the sound of a *kullkull* indicated that there was to be a match on Carrarrifie's main field (See Pl. XI, Fig. 2).[10] When we arrived at the spot we found that there were eight players on each team, representing supporters of two of Carrarrifie's three schools. Fifty to sixty young and old men stood on the side lines and cheered lustily, if informally. Formations and organized plays were at a minimum, except that a player sometimes blocked one or more opponents in order to give a teammate a chance to strike the ball. As this field has a marked slope, sides were changed from time to time. Nothing serious was at stake, and although the men played hard and fast, there was little roughness, and good-natured banter was exchanged between opponents and between players and bystanders.

Gillatun ceremonies[11]

798 Woven together into the great composite of *Gillatun* rites are elements of *machi* lore, assembly customs, hockey games, curing and divination practices, and numerous other religious features, all of which are mingled in a two-day public celebration that is designed to give thanks for favors received or to ask for help in times of stress. This greatest of Araucanian ceremonies is singularly hard to define in precise terms. Above all, 776 one cannot determine the names or characteristics of the deities 776 or spirits to whom the prayers are addressed. The most widely 771 used Mapuche word for "god" is *dunechen*, and "heaven" is generally rendered as *wenumapu*. Benevolent deities are often identified by a complimentary prefix, as in the case of *chau* ("father") *dunechen*, or *kūme* ("good") *dunechen*, and are supposed to live in the sky; whereas malevolent supernatural agents

[10] See Figure 9, the Huaiquini-Painen field near house No. 25.

[11] Much material has been published on this topic. The principal works are conveniently listed in Cooper, 1946, pp. 740-43. A good account by a native is given in Manquilef, 1930, pp. 227-90.

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are likely to be called *wesa* ("bad") *ñunechen*, and are said to dwell in volcanoes.[12] The essential dualism of Araucanian belief is thus again made evident (cf. p. 114), but it is impossible at present to determine how many gods there are or what special functions they have.

The Reverend Juan Antinao once named as benevolent deities: *Kŭla-añe-fŭcha* ("Three-face-old man"); *Wene-kuse* ("First" or "Earliest-old-woman"), possibly a metaphor for dawn; and *Ailla-mari-kon·a* ("Ninety retainers"). Beyond the vague statement that they were of help to *machis*, Antinao could not or would not elaborate on their characters or functions; and other informants were at a loss to identify them. They are here recorded only because they may provide suggestions to some future investigator.

Another problem of interpretation arises from the lack of regularity in the ritual calendar. Apparently, *ñillatun* observances, important as they are considered, are held at irregular intervals. *Loñkos*, who used to serve as genuine leaders and spokesmen for their groups, are said to have ordered these celebrations whenever their followers were in distress or were plagued by bad dreams. We are told that today the cacique of a reservation, in consultation with the male heads of families, makes the decision at will; yet some say that a reduction should sponsor a *ñillatun* regularly every three or four years. Several communities, possibly under Christian influence, have given up the ceremony altogether.

[12] Several writers associate *Pillañ* with catastrophic forces, Cooper (1946, pp. 747–48). But Latcham (1924, pp. 594–98 *et passim*) argued that *Pillañ* originally stood for any ancestral spirit and that *ñunechen* is the old *Pillañ* with added attributes taken from Christian teachings. The problem of Spanish-Christian influence on contemporary Araucanian religious customs raises many vexing and unsolved questions. Contrary to popular belief, the bulk of the Mapuche are neither Catholic nor Protestant. After the Spanish period, and particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century, they were neglected by all churches; and it is only since 1900 that they have again been subject to missionary activities. Consequently, it is difficult to determine whether such customs as St. John's Day celebrations (or the widespread use of crosses) are survivals of ancient Christian practices or of still older heathen customs.

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accord with their ideas, to the agency of the devil. As a consequence we have no real record of their ideas of religion.

At the present time there is a great admixture of Christian beliefs and customs engrafted on the native superstitions and mode of thought, creating a hybrid paganism the origins of which are often extremely doubtful.

The Araucano, even of to-day, has only a very faint hazy idea of things spiritual. His religious opinions are intensely materialistic, and he endows his deities with a corporal form. In fact, he may be said to have hardly got beyond a state of fetish worship. In the following pages the term spirit is only employed to indicate a supernatural agency, although the Indian ascribes to it in every case a preconceived form. This belief is not exactly the ghost-worship of many of the tribes of North America, animism having little place in their theories. Neither do they believe that all inert objects are endowed with a spirit; considering that such objects may become temporarily the abiding place of an invisible being, but always attributing to it a concrete form.

The Araucanos recognise no supreme being with definite attributes. They have no temples, no idols, no established religious cult, and no priesthood in a religious sense, although they occasionally sacrifice to one or other of their divinities, but without a fixed ritual, and only as a conciliatory or expiatory act.

The basis of their belief is a rude form of nature worship, and all inanimate things are, or may be, the abodes of supernatural beings, malign or beneficent as the case may be, to whom they attribute a concrete form, but who possess the faculty of rendering themselves visible or invisible at will.

This invisibility, according to their belief, extends to their own bodies, for they are convinced that their dreams are the nightly wanderings of their other selves or spirits, to which, however, they assign a material though invisible form. They are not invisible to the *pillí* or spirits of other Indians, and so when they dream of other persons they really believe their *pillí* have met. Thus also when they are attacked by nightmare or delirium tremens, the horrible forms their imaginations conjure up are considered to be real beings.

Their dead, when they return to this earth, generally appear transformed, but corporeal and visible to the *pillí*. This belief that dreams are nothing but the wanderings of their bodies in invisible form, and that these peoples dreamt about one really met, is the basis of their ideas of a future state, as they have thus an overwhelming proof that the dead frequently revisit this earth in the form of *pillí* or spirits. In the same manner the material forms given to their good and evil spirits are to be explained.

If we duly remember that dreams and their events are very real facts in their theosophy, then we have the key by which many obscure and unexplained conceptions may be unravelled. It is common to hear one of these Indians relate in the most convinced and matter of fact way his having encountered one or other of these good or evil spirits, and give elaborate details of the meeting and its results. This belief has also led up to another superstition which greatly affected the individual welfare of the Araucano.

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affected the individual welfare of the Araucano. Their notion is that no one dies a natural death. Death is due to sorcery, or poisoning, frequently committed by some enemy in his *pillí* form, or some malign spirit, who assumed any shape at will, as that of a snake, lizard, fly, ant, etc., and thus operated with little fear of discovery, or because invisible, although his corporeal body none the less existed.

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Death by torture was up till quite recently the fate of anyone convicted of sorcery or of having caused the death of another by occult means. This gave a great power to their *machis* or witch-doctors, whose principal task was the finding out of the sorcerer, and of the discovery of the causes of death. These witch-doctors of savage and barbarian races are generally looked upon as errant impostors, but according to their lights they are not so to nearly so great an extent as is usually supposed. To understand their point of view it is very important to bear in mind what has already been said about the real and tangible meaning that dreams have to them. The witch-doctor, through his training, mode of life, and natural temperament, is generally a person of a highly strung nervous disposition, to whom the faculty of throwing himself into a cataleptic or hypnotic trance is a second nature. When called in to discover the secret enemy who has caused the death of a certain individual, by the aid of powerful drugs, intensely concentrated attention and severe bodily exercise, he works himself up to such a pitch of nervous excitement that he finally collapses into a state of coma or trance, which frequently lasts for several hours. During this trance, any person or being which passes before his mind's eye is considered to have been the offender and is equally denounced, there being no appeal from these decisions. Naturally enough, this gives the medicine-man immense power, as it often gives him an opportunity for wreaking vengeance on anyone who has fallen into his bad books. But these opportunities are seldom taken advantage of, as it creates a blood feud with the kindred of the accused.

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As we have said, the theogony of the Araucanos was a kind of nature-worship, partaking of the principle of demonology, that is, their principal deities were all evil genii to be propitiated, and not benign divinities whose mercy and grace were to be implored. Undoubtedly the principal god in their eyes was *Pillan*, the thunder god, more called *Ngunechen*. Many persons suppose that these are two separate deities, but after a careful study I believe them to be one and the same, the older *Pillan* having received new attributes after the Indians had come into contact with Christian ideas. At present *Ngunechen*—Lord of the Earth—has almost entirely replaced *Pillan*, and has absorbed most of the powers of the latter. What is certain is that some of the former Spanish writers mention him, and no knowledge of him was hinted at till the beginning of the nineteenth century. *Pillan* was not only the god of thunder but was also the purveyor of fire, causing the lightning, volcanic eruptions, and the earthquakes, and dwelt in the heart of the volcanoes. He was considered to be a corporeal deity, one and many at the same time. The chiefs and warriors who fell in battle became in some unexplained way absorbed into *Pillan*, the former as volcanoes and the latter as clouds. From this

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belief a myth sprang up. During a thunderstorm the Indians looked anxiously towards the sky to see which way the clouds were drifting, showing signs of contentment if they were driven towards the north. They supposed that these turquois represented battles between those of their race and their Spanish oppressors. If the clouds drifted southwards they supposed that their people were being driven back, but if on the contrary they were blown in a northerly direction they rejoiced at the defeat of their enemies.

Pillan was served by malignant spirits called *Huecuvus*, who possessed the power of transforming themselves into any shape they wished in order to work evil. To drive them away from their dwellings the Araucanos burnt branches of canelo, their sacred tree. To their influences were imputed many of their sicknesses, especially those which were not easily diagnosed. They were, in these cases, supposed to produce invisible wounds with invisible arrows. To them also were attributed all the natural phenomena, when they occurred at inopportune moments, or brought in their train any unfavourable results; as, for instance, rain in harvest-time, blight or disease in their crops, lameness or sickness among their stock, and in general all those accidents that they could not ascribe to a direct agency. Other servants of Pillan were the *Cherruve*, figured as snakes with human heads. These gave rise to the conjecture of the comets and shooting stars, considered to be the forerunners of death, or of terrible calamities to those villages in whose direction they shot.

Another of their deities was *Kuyen* (whirlwind), the god of the winds. He was figured as a lizard who disappeared into the earth when the whirlwind broke up.

The moon, *Anchimalguen* (wife of the sun), was their only beneficent deity. She protected and advised them of any disaster, showing them their enemies, and frightening away the evil spirits. This is easily understood when one remembers that night attacks are seldom undertaken on moonlight nights, and that most savages have a great fear of the dark when alone. It also accounts for the faith placed in the signs of the moon, whose phases were always consulted in their principal undertakings. A red moon was considered to be a sign of the death of some important personage. What is curious, especially if we consider their contact with the Incas, is that the sun has no place in their religious beliefs.

Nguenolin, the water god, or spirit of the rivers and lakes, takes the form of a wild ox, with a long tail terminating in a terrible claw. Any accident that happens to the Indians while in or on the water is attributed to him.

Another god was *Huecufuguyi*, the spirit of the rain. He appeared as a dwarf with a calf's head and a seal's hind quarters, and was only seen on the banks of rivers, lakes, or the sea coast. When a child was born deformed in any way, it was put down to his influence.

Among the minor gods or evil spirits may be mentioned the following: *Chonchonyi*, a human head whose ears served, as wings, a species of vampire who lurked round the dwellings of the sick. If they were left unguarded he entered

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776 753 and struggled with them (convulsions). If he conquered he sucked the patient's life blood.

Colo-colo (cockatrice) generated from a cock's egg, caused fever and death by extracting the saliva from his victim. *Pikuchenyi*, or winged snake, sucked the blood of anyone found sleeping in the woods by night.

775 The *Am*, or ghosts of the dead, who appeared to the living, distinguished from the *Pelli* already mentioned, who were the ghosts or other self of the living. They also believed that their chiefs returned to visit the haunts of their relatives in the form of humble-bees.

All their trials and adversities, even the most trivial, were set down to the malignity of evil spirits.

Religion had very little effect on Araucano morals, and fear of a future punishment was unknown to them. Any kind of worship or religious rite was also unknown, and only in time of great adversity, as of drought, famine or plague, was any offering or propitiatory sacrifice made.

They believed in a future state, but hell had no place in their beliefs. After death they went in an invisible, but corporeal, form to the other world, where the evil spirits had no entry, where there was always abundance, and where they passed their time feasting and drinking and dancing, waited on by their wives, who had either preceded them or would follow after. The same castes were preserved there as on earth, but the poor people and the public women went to another land where it was always cold. Here also there was abundance to eat and drink, but of the poorest quality, and as before the men were waited on by the women. To arrive at their future resting place it was necessary to cross the sea. For this reason the dead are buried facing the west. Before arriving at this happy land they had a long journey to make. So that they should want nothing on this journey, a good supply of provisions, blankets, skins, etc., were buried with the corpse, and a horse was either buried also or slaughtered over the grave.

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The island of Mocha was formerly believed to be the starting place for this long trip. Spirits of the dead had to follow a narrow path, guarded by a witch, who collected tribute from all passers. Even now the Araucanos bury some few coins or other objects with the dead to discharge this obligation.

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The coast tribes believed that certain witches transformed themselves into whales to ferry them from the mainland to the island, while the inland tribes supposed that they changed into canoes. Many of these beliefs have been modified since the race has been in contact with Christianity, which, however, has made little headway among them, probably because they cannot even conceive of, much less understand, the principal dogmas and tenets of a highly developed religion.

177 777 The stories of numerous converts are inexplicable to one who has probed the Indian's mode of thought and state of intellect. At most they can be only nominally Christians, accepting certain moral ideas and outward forms, such as baptism, crosses in their burial grounds, etc., and all that appeals to the senses,

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The corporeal forms which they assign to their divinities also indicate that there has been formerly an animal worship, which was possibly only a transition from totemism, and may have originated in some form of ancestor worship. Thus the *Cherruve* are represented as serpents with men's heads, *Meulen* as a lizard, *Nguruvilu* as a wild cat with a serpent's tail, *Huaillipenyi* as a sheep or llama with a calf's head, *Pictuichenyi* as a winged snake, etc., etc. These double-natured or hybrid conceptions probably represent the clans among which intermarriage was most common. For instance, the wild cat clan could marry into the serpent's clan, and *vice versâ*; the new community thus formed would be represented by the *Nguruvilu*. 779

In the course of time the founder of a family, especially if it became a powerful one, would be regarded as a hero, after which it was but a step to his apotheosis. [776]

The custom of painting the face and body before entering battle may have had some connection with totemism, although the chroniclers have left us no record in this respect, contenting themselves with calling attention to this custom. At present, however, totemism seems to have given place to shamanism, and the earlier customs have fallen into disuse and oblivion.

Incest is common during the drunken orgies, no relationship being respected. Marriage among kindred and within the clan is common, and no prohibition attaches to the killing or eating of special animals, although there are a few such superstitions among the elders. 835

Shamanistic bodies now exist, although their origins are wrapped in mystery. Such are the *kuruvenpes*, or sorcerers, the *dunguves*, or diviners, and the *machis*, or medicine men. These groups are supposed to have certain powers over the powers of good and evil. But contrary to most shamanistic societies there is very little cohesion among their members, and no organisation, neither do they recognise any head. Their functions are practised independently, much after the system of the followers of our modern professions. They only recognise each other as colleagues, and each is respected only according to his degree of skill in imposing on the multitude. Their influence is not political, and they take no active part in the government of the tribe, save in times of tribal or national peril. They officiate as priests, however, in the few religious ceremonies that take place among the people. 756

Cannibalism.—At the time of the Spanish invasion the Araucanos were still cannibals, although now it is nearly a century since the last well authenticated case was recorded. This cannibalism was not general, however, and was only practised on prisoners taken in battle. The occasion was made to serve as a national feast. The prisoner was made fast to the trunk of a tree, where he became for long hours the target for the jibes, jeers and taunts of the multitude. When his tormentors had drunk sufficiently, and had worked themselves into a frenzy, he was subjected to a thousand torments, till his captor rushed forward and hacked off a limb or piece of flesh from where he thought proper with a stone 266 727 266

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RELIGION

Mapuche-Huilliche religion may for convenience be treated under the following topics: Theism, the Pillañ cult, miscellaneous magico-religious beliefs and observances, and shamanism. The first three will be treated in this section; the last in a separate section to follow.

Theism.—Theistic beliefs and practices played a very important role in the religious life of the modern *Mapuche-Huilliche*. The difficult question of the aboriginality of this theism will be taken up later.

The Supreme Being was looked upon as the maker of everything, who had mastery or power over man and nature, who gave life and fecundity to man, animals, and plants, and who controlled the forces of nature for the happiness or unhappiness of man. He was an active rather than an otiose deity. Two of the more common names by which he was known were ɣenéchen (master of men) and ɣenémapun (master of the land). Another form of address was chau (father), but he was ambisexually addressed as rey chau (king father) and rey kushe (queen ancient one, or mother). Other names of the Supreme Being were "King," "Ancient One," "Ancient King Above," "Ancient Queen Above," "Young Man ɣenéchen," "Young Woman ɣenéchen," "Blue King Father," "Blue Queen Mother," "Two Faces ɣenéchen (ɣenémapun)." "Two Faces" (white and black) apparently referred to sunshine and rain prayed for in public rites, and also to ambivalent indulgent and severe attitudes of the Supreme Being. "Blue" connoted the residence of the Supreme Being up in the sky, where he was supposed to reside in a house of pure gold, or in the sun. According to some natives, he lived in volcanos and had a wife and children, but no parents. The Supreme Being could be and was commonly approached in prayer. He was not concerned with the moral order, nor did the state of souls in the future life depend on reward or punishment meted out by him. He was prayed to for material favors, particularly for food and life, but not for forgiveness or spiritual strength.

Cult of the Supreme Being took three distinct forms: the public ɣillatun, private prayers and offerings, and shamanistic practices. The last of these will be dealt with later under shamanism.

The private practices, on which fewer details are available, included prayers and occasional blood sacrifices of animals (Robles Rodrigues, 1942, pp. 26–27), and also first-fruit offerings. As a regular practice before eating or drinking, a bit of the meat or liquid or animal blood was offered to the Supreme Being with a short prayer to him to continue giving food. (Domeyko, 1845, p. 46; Guinnard, 1864, p. 147, Argentine *Araucanians*; Ruiz Aldea, 1902, pp. 41, 65; cf. Latcham, 1922 b, p. 522, offering to spirits.)

On the public rite, the ɣillatun, we have rather a large mass of data. (Félix José, 1910; Guevara Silva, 1898, pp. 268–69; 1908, pp. 303–10;

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1911, pp. 236–46; 1929, 1:438–46; Hounse, 1939, pp. 103–12; Moesbach, 1936, pp. 371–94; Robles Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 9–36.) This rite differed considerably in detail from place to place, it would seem, to judge from variations in the accounts. The main features were the following: A master of ceremonies, called ɣen'pin, an older man respected for age and character (distinct from machi), who presided over the rite; the setting of the day for the rite and preliminary slaughtering of animals and preparation of chicha for the feast; the rewe, a branch or branches of *Drimys winteri*, *Aristotelia maqui*, and sometimes others, stuck in the ground or tied to a thick pole or log which was firmly embedded in the earth (fig. 83); the erection of the llaɣillaɣi, a quadrangular platform, which served as a sort of altar (fig. 84); repeated execution of the awün, an encircling of the rewe and altar by the people on horseback and afoot; the sacrifice of animals, usually lambs, with cutting off of the ears and offering the blood to the Supreme Being in plates placed on the altar; a dipping of *Aristotelia maqui* branches, carried by each of the participants, in chicha, sucking the chicha off and spitting it out toward the sky, and asperging with the dipped branches, four times; dancing and singing; repeated prayers by the master of ceremony and others to the Supreme Being, particularly for food, for good crops, for increase of the flocks and herds, for good growing weather, for long life for children and for elders, and for the welfare of all members of the family and group. The rite ended with the usual eating and drinking feast.

In some cases the machi took a leading part in the ɣillatun rite, with her characteristic performances, such as ascending the rewe, swooning, and on falling, being caught in a blanket. (Cf., e. g., Hounse, 1939, pp. 105–10; see also infra under Shamanism, p. 750.)

In some sections and very commonly in association with the ɣillatun rite, even in some cases as an integral part of it, was carried out the konchotun rite. This latter is the rite previously referred to (see Sociopolitical Culture, p. 727), under which one person gives a lamb to another and the lamb is then killed and partaken of jointly as a symbol of special friendship between the two. When this konchotun rite is performed as part of the ɣillatun rites, the blood of the lamb may be put in a receptacle and placed on the ɣillatun "altar" (Moesbach, 1936, p. 390).

Is the concept of the Supreme Being, with the associated public and private cults, aboriginal or the result of a reflection of missionary influence? An answer cannot easily be given. Some features of the concept, such as the titles King and Queen, are clearly European. Certain other features, such as ambisexuality, and the absence of prayer for forgiveness, of relation to the moral order, of future reward and punishment, and of still more distinctive Christian doctrines, and the emphasis in prayer on food and long life, look decidedly aboriginal.

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Our dated historical documents enable us to trace the concept back to the beginning of the 19th century, and with reasonable probability to the second third of the 18th century. Beyond that the trail is lost. Earlier writers either state that the chief deity of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* was Pillañ or else deny that they had any concept at all of a Supreme Being—a denial which, given the lack of penetration on the part of these writers in so many other basic aspects of religious and secular culture, need not necessarily be taken seriously.

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FIGURE 84.—A *Mapuche* [illegible]. (After Guevara, 1911, p. 220.)

West of the Andes, among the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, the Supreme Being concept can be quite clearly followed back well into the 19th century through the writings of Fathers Adeodato da Bologna and Octaviano de Nizza (Félix José, 1910, pp. 252–56) and of Domeyko (1845, pp. 45–46) and Smith (1855, p. 273), and, with good probability, back to the middle 18th century through Molina:

> They acknowledge a Supreme Being, the author of all things, whom they call Pillán . . . . They also call him Guenu-pillán, the spirit of Heaven; Buta-gen, the great being [gen, "master"]; Thuinvo, the Thunderer; Vivemvoe, the Creator of all; Vlapaiivoe, the Omnipotent; Molingán, the Eternal; Avenchi, the Infinite, &c . . . . He is the great Teqeé of the invisible world . . . . [Molina, 1901, p. 100, cf. 1978 a, p. 265.]

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Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876, p. 137) held that the *Mapuche* had no concept of a Supreme Being and that Molina's names for him were the inventions of missionaries. But the case may not be as simple as this markedly unsympathetic chronicler of the *Araucanians* made it. Some of Molina's names for the Supreme Being, taken perhaps from Febrés (1882) or L. de Valdivia (1887), such as Vilpepilvoe (cf. Argentine *Araucanian* names: Pepillóo, Barbará, 1878, p. 181; *Vilpepilfoe*, Milanesio, 1896, p. 41) and Vilvemvoe are pretty surely of Christian origin. But others, such as Guenu-pillán (cf. Félix José, 1910, p. 227, Wenu Rey Fucha, "Above King Old"), Buta-gun (cf. Argentine *Araucanian* names for Supreme Being: Fecha huentú, "great man," Barbará, 1930, p. 48; Vita Outnetrou, "great man," Guinnard, 1864, pp. 82, 145; Cuchauentrú, "great man," Manzilla, 1877, 2:32; Feta huentrú, Moreno, 1879, pp. 108, 114), and great Toqui (cf. Toquichen, Falkner, 1935, p. 114, and variants of *quechen*, *infra*), have a more aboriginal ring.

East of the Andes, among the Argentine *Araucanians*, the Supreme Being concept is recorded consistently by our chief 19th-century observers—La Vaulx (1901, pp. 139, 178–79), Milanesio (1896, pp. 41–42), Moreno (1879, pp. 10, 108, 113–14), Manzilla (1877, 2:32), Cox (1863, p. 172), Guinnard (1864, pp 82, 145–46, 237), Barbará (1879, pp. 102, 161; 1930, p. 48), D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:259), De la Cruz (1836, p. 48)—and back to the period of first close European contact in the second third of the 18th century by the Jesuit missionaries of the 1740's to their expulsion in 1767–68 (Falkner, 1935, p. 114; cf. Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 65). The Argentine "*Puelchedi*" observed in 1806 by De la Cruz (1836, p. 48) all believed in a Supreme Being who made and governed all things, who was expected to look after them "as a father," who protected and helped them, but who was not offended at the evil they did. According to Falkner (1935, p. 114), who spoke *Araucanian* and who had been in close contact with the *Araucanians* over many years:

> These Indians [tribes of Argentine Pampa] believe in two superior beings, the one good, the other evil. The good power is called by the Molomboe Toquichen, which signifies governor of the people . . . .

Furthermore, some significant correspondences occur between names of the Supreme Being used among both the *Mapuche-Huilliche* and the Argentine *Araucanians*. *Mapuche-Huilliche* quechen, "master of men," and variants, occurs among the Argentine *Araucanians* as Gennetchen (La Vaulx, 1901, p. 139), Gne-che (Milanesio, 1896, p. 41), Gdnechen (Barbará, 1879, pp. 102, 161), correlating with "governs all things" (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 48), Toquichen, "governor of the people" (Falkner, 1935, p. 114; cf. Molina, 1901, p. 109, "great Toqui of the invisible world"); *Mapuche-Huilliche* vanderuapu, "master of the land," and variants, with regnu me-pu (Guinnard, 1864, p. 147);

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Mapuche-Huilliche chau, "father," with "father" (Guinnard, 1864, p. 147), chachao (Mansilla, 1877, 2:32), expected to look after them "as a father" (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 48); Buta-gen, as supra. And on both sides of the Andes the Supreme Being was not concerned with the moral order (cf. supra).

In the light of the foregoing evidence, the Supreme Being concept can be clearly traced back a century and a half and probably two centuries, and shows from the first certain suggestively aboriginal features. But even before the middle 18th century, the *Araucanians* had been open for two centuries to much European influence from captives, missionaries, and other acculturational agents. (See supra, p. 696). In the light of the evidence on both sides, the chances for aboriginal or European origin of the *Araucanian* Supreme Being belief seem close to even, with perhaps a slightly greater probability that we have to do with an aboriginal belief which has been appreciably developed and pointed up as a result of White influence.

So far as the eltun rite itself is concerned, apart from and waiving the question of the prayers to the Supreme Being therein, its characteristic features appear as definitely aboriginal and peculiar to the *Araucanians*, and some of them, such as the use of the sacred *Drimys winteri* and the (sacrificial) killing of animals, can be traced back through our dated historical sources as far as the earlier decades following the Contact. The ensemble of the modern rite may, of course, be much more recent.

One other principal *Araucanian* rite, the new year rite, Wunn tripantu, was held at the winter solstice (June 21; latterly on St. John's day, June 24), and was characterized by a long ceremonial bath which all the group, young and old, took in a nearby stream; by the public sacrifice of a lamb; by prayers to Ñañihuenu (lit. "zenith," a name for Supreme Being: Félix José, 1916, 1:193) for general welfare during the year; and by an obligatory rest (Christian influence?) from work throughout the day (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, pp. 1063–64).

The Pillañ cult.—In contrast to yenéchen, who was associated with and appealed to mostly for food and long life, Pillañ (Pillan) was pretty consistently associated in our sources from at least the first half of the 17th century on (Marcgrav, 1648, p. 286; cf. Febrés, 1882, s. v.) with dramatic catastrophic natural phenomena, such as volcanic eruptions, thunder and lightning, river floods, tidal waves, etc. The cerros, too, according to one tradition, were under the protection of Pillañ (Félix José, 1916, 1:181). According to Sors (1921, p. 184), epidemics were attributed to Pillañ's anger. We do not seem to have any information on what was supposed to arouse Pillañ's ire. Data, too, on the cult of Pillañ are meager and scattered. According to Marcgrav (1648 p. 286), Pillañ was appealed to by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* to destroy their enemies, and tobacco smoke was blown in

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776 the air with the invocation: "Accept this, Pillañ." Molina (1901, p. 169) by way of exception calls the "Supreme Being, the author of all things," Pillañ. Pillañ, while in some respects fear-inspiring, was, it seems obvious, also helpful.

Pillañ, in the plural, was also used as a term for spirits of the departed, especially the spirits of prominent headmen and ulmens, and, seemingly, at times for other benevolent or malevolent supernatural beings (see infra), and even for prominent men still living.

Other beliefs and observances:

(a) *Wekufú.*—Nearly all evil, particularly evil of a noncatastrophic, secret, subtle, or treacherous nature, was ascribed to the impersonal power or personal being or beings called wekufú (huecúvu, güecubu, and variants). Wekufú, impersonal or personal, was always maleficent. In contrast to Pillañ and ɣenéchen, no cult in the way of sacrifice or supplicatory prayer was offered to wekufú. Rites in connection with wekufú, most of them carried out by the shaman, had the purpose of driving wekufú away.

774 776 (b) *Animistic spirits.*—A number of animistic spirits are mentioned in our sources, such as Marɛ́upuantu (twelve suns), Meul'en [wekufú] (whirlwind [wekufú]), Anchimallen aremko (a certain green toad considered as master of waters; also known as ɣen'ko ahompallwe, and other names), Epuñamuñ (two feet), Nguenpiru (master of the worms). Somewhat different functions are assigned to these various beings by different observers. Meul'en, for example, is usually reported as beneficent; Epuñamuñ, as god of war. "Maruapoante" [781] was supposed, according to Marcgrav (1648, p. 287), to give information in dreams as to what woman a man should marry; if he chose the one indicated, she would without fail become pregnant. Some of these beings were invoked in shamanistic rites; others, seemingly in nonshamanistic ones. Traces only of a solar cult existed; oaths were taken by the sun (cf. infra); the wife of the sun was believed to be benign. (Olivares, 1864, pp. 51–52; on moon as wife of sun, see Lehmann-Nitsche, 1918, pp. 45–49.)

In some localities, the puma was spoken of, not by its proper name, but by respectful circumlocutions (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 282).

(c) *Manistic beings.*—All in all, animistic cult seems to have bulked more largely in *Mapuche-Huilliche* religion than did manistic. The deceased ancestors, often called Pillanes, were prayed to to help in martial expeditions. Deceased shamans played an important part as helpers of living shamans. (See infra under Shamanism, p. 780.)

789 (d) *Magic.*—A great number of magical practices, apart from those followed in shamanistic rites, have been recorded, such as: Love and jealousy procedures; eating parts of an animal to acquire its qualities; rubbing the body with otter genitals as an aphrodisiac; transferring

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606 cluded from those with whom one might joke; such persons were those older than oneself, persons affected by in-law taboos (in Cofaripe area), and persons to whom one owed conventional courtesies. More specifically, a man may joke, but does not need to do so, with the younger sisters of his wife; with those older than his wife he is to show reserve. A woman may joke with the younger brothers of her husband, but need not do so; she is to show reserve when speaking to the older brothers of her husband. A man will not joke with his brother's wife, even if she is younger than he. Children of the same age who are cross-cousins may tease each other when they meet, but never may a younger one do so to an older one. A woman may say to a young girl relative whom she may meet, "Are you out looking for a man?" But never may the girl say it to a woman. Neither could a young man say it to a girl cousin, "for it would show very bad rearing. It is really not allowed."

RELIGION AND SUPERNATURAL POWERS

THE SUPREME BEING, HIS ABODE

776 The Supreme Being was spoken of as both the creator of the world (*gunenmapún*) and the ruler of the world or lord of all creation (*guenechén*). (Cooper's sources, 1946, pp. 742-743, and Félix José, 1916, vol. 1, p. 58, are in agreement with this.) "They are identical," said the informant, "just two names for one person." Prayers were addressed to the Supreme Being under both titles. In general, however, prayers were directed to *guenechén* for matters pertaining to the earth: "I say, 'You, *guenechén*, who are in the middle of heaven and are mightiest, grant that what we have sowed will bring harvest; and that our animals will multiply. Send us rain and sunshine.' That is how we pray when we pray directly to God." *Nenémapún* was prayed to "when there was sickness in a family, and in general for protection for a family in all things." Generally, today, God is spoken of, and is addressed, as *chau* (father).

According to Cooper's sources the Supreme Being did not concern Himself with the moral order of things; nor did the state of souls in the future life depend on reward or punishment meted out by Him (1946, p. 742). My informants were agreed that punishment was meted out to individuals and/or all the people while they were on earth. "*Nenechén* sends punishment by sending weather like we are having this summer [drought]," said one; "He punishes us because so many Mapuche do not like to pray, and are not praying." Another, a 70-year-old man, said, "My grandfather was a real Mapuche; he

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could speak no Spanish and he knew nothing of any Christian religion; 776
but if I did not obey him, he would say, 'Nenemapún will punish you for that.'" A man, an assistant to the cacique who led a gillatun in Alepún area, found, upon his return home from the gillatun, that cows had eaten his garden. "He was very angry about this. When, later in the season, the lack of rain and intense heat caused a potato failure, people said that it was because that man had been so angry immediately after the gillatun."

No informant had given much thought to the appearance of the Supreme Being. "I do not know what chau looks like. Prophets [leaders in the gillatun] sometimes in dreams hear a voice like that of a man; sometimes they see a figure like a man; they say the voice is that of chau, and the figure is chau. Other prophets have told us that chau cannot be seen. The people do not known what he looks like."

All informants were agreed that the Supreme Being had with Himself a woman, spoken of as wenumapu fuke (wenumapu meaning heaven or regions above, and fuke, mother). In relationship to her the Supreme Being is spoken of as wenumapu chau. Cooper's sources agree with this statement, and state also that these two had sons and daughters (1946, p. 742), something with which not all my informants agreed. An old Pangipulli informant had not heard of such children; "but we know that chau has with him a woman to whom we pray as if she were our mother: we ask her to ask chau to give us what we want. She is chau's ademu or mujer [wife or woman]." Alepún informants, however, spoke of children. Quoting them: "In heaven there is God father, God mother, and their sons and daughters." "I remember my grandmother going to the brook each morning and saying prayers, they were prayers addressed to God father, to the mother in heaven, and to their sons and daughters." The interpreter then questioned: "Already in the early days the Mapuche had the belief in the Blessed Virgin, the Mother of God?" To which the informant replied, "No, not like that; it is not the same—it is a family. We always thought of the people in heaven as being a family."

God is prayed to not only directly but also through intercessors, "such as the women I just told about, and the deceased prophets." When an old Pangipulli man was asked who of these ranked first, he answered, "God is first and all the rest are equal. We can pray directly to God, but I usually address myself to the deceased prophets —they say that the deceased prophets are in the pillán—and I ask them to intercede for us."

The location of the abode of the Supreme Being is not known; it is

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•776 spoken of as wenumapu—a word used also when speaking of sky, celestial regions, heaven. Several informants thought the abode might be the place called pillañ, but an old Pangipulli man was certain that it was not there. "God is in wenumapu," he insisted; "in pillañ are the deceased prophets, the old women who used to beat the kultrun in the ñillatun, and other good persons. Pillañ is in all the volcanoes around here [Andes]." (Cf. also p. 166.)

There was no belief that deities of minor importance lived in animals, plants, or minerals. Quoting an Alepún man: "We believed in one God in heaven, always, even in our old religion before we knew of Christianity; we prayed to no animals, nor to the sun—the sun is a natural thing. Nor did we think that there were spirits in trees or rocks or water." "The Mapuche in early days believed in the true God," said a Colhuipe informant; "they prayed to Him in the ñillatun; it was the same God we pray to today. Those who write about us today say that we did pray to other beings than God, but we Mapuche know that we did not."

PRIVATE PERSONAL PRAYER, PERSONAL SUPERNATURAL POWERS

782 Not only do persons offer prayers as individuals, apart from group prayer, but on occasions, one or several persons make minor sacrificial offerings jointly with private prayer. When thunder and lightning occur in the daytime, someone in the ruka will throw a handful of wheat or corn either onto the fireside or on hot coals that have been removed to the outside of the ruka. "I put mine in an olla and set it outdoors, and say, 'Fvi, chau' [here, God], which means, 'God be merciful to us,' or, 'God, I offer this to You so that this storm will pass by without injuring anyone.'" The offering is made only once during a thunderstorm and is not made at night. School boys and girls 11 to 13 years of age had made the offering; those 8 and 9 years old had not.

When a 4-footed animal is slaughtered, the one doing so will sprinkle a little of the blood heavenward and say a prayer for an increase in his herd and flocks. "I saw my father take the steaming blood of a cow and sprinkle it toward heaven as an offering to God. This done, he went on with the slaughtering." Old persons in Pangipulli area still throw a spoonful of broth or stew or a little piece of any prepared food on the fire before beginning a meal: "It is like a prayer of thanksgiving for what we have, and of asking for that which we may still need." This custom was not known to Alepún informants.

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The belief in a guardian spirit, such as is found among the Chippewa (Hilger, 1951, pp. 44-48) and the Arapaho (1952, pp. 124-134), is not part of the Araucanian culture.

MALIGNANT SPIRITS, THEIR ABODE

The belief in malignant spirits is pre-Christian, but the belief in a place of punishment for wrongdoing is probably of recent origin. Evil spirits are called wekufü—"wekufü are beings something like the devils in your religion." "The Mapuche have great fear of wekufü," said a non-Araucanian. "The first missionaries used to tell of this fear." Quoting an Alegüe man: "If a whirlwind comes near a ruka in the daytime, or if there is a noise outside the ruka at night, several persons, never one alone, will go out with firebrands and flourish these toward the noise, and say, 'Wekufü, return to where your house is' [informant said this in Araucanian]. If it is not wekufü himself that is there, it must be the restless spirit of a deceased person that is molesting the place."

According to a Pangipulli woman, the flood (probably biblical) was caused by a malignant spirit: "My mother told me that in very early times the rivers overflowed, and there was a great flood. Within the flooded area, a hill raised itself—they say tren tren raised it—and upon it the people rescued themselves. They called this hill tren tren in honor of the good spirit that had rescued them. The bad spirit that caused the flood was called kuñalwüllu." An old man listening in had interjected, "Tren tren is a place where a child was offered when the rivers and lakes rose to overflowing; it was believed that where the blood of the child would flow land would appear." The informant disagreed. "No, no! No child was sacrificed. Not far from here in the mountains [Andes] is the place where dat land appeared, and it is said to be tren tren. This story has been told from generation to generation among the Mapuche. My grandmother never saw tren tren, but I heard her tell this story." (Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 753, for other tren tren flood stories.)

The abode of wekufü is not known. "It must be where people are," reasoned the informant, "for it is people through whom wekufü works. Some say that the wekufü are in pillañ; but they cannot be there where the good people are. Maybe they are where they should be—in Iduvulampe" (earth of fire, probably a word compounded to be the equivalent of hell fire). According to schoolchildren the following are in Iduvulampe: The Indian (there was a chorus of "los kulku" from the children, even the youngest ones joining in when the ques-

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She explained, "We sang the same to each person as he came up on his horse, such as 'Here comes my aunt!' 'Here comes my father!' 'They come to see us. How happy we are! How overjoyed I am!' After all had been welcomed in this manner, we said, in a still higher voice, 'Chachai. Chachai. Chachai. Eimi, Chachai.' [These were endearing expressions and were used also by small children toward parents.] Then the relatives answered, also in a high voice and also sitting on their haunches, 'We have come from afar to see you. We have come from afar to see you.' Formerly our people raised their voices when they were jubilant; today everything is said in a monotone [she mimicked it]. We all embraced each other, shook hands, and kissed each other on the cheek—not on the mouth like they do today. This is what we did for our relatives."

Mother-in-law–son-in-law taboos were institutional. "A man respected his mother-in-law. He could be in the same room with her, just like all other persons may be, but neither one was to look at the other." A woman older than a hundred years had seen a blanket hung up between a mother-in-law and her son-in-law, "so they could not look at each other." If a mother-in-law and son-in-law met, each looked in the opposite direction. Kolguer, when asked the reason for this taboo, laughed heartily and said, "Just because it was a custom; for no other reason whatsoever." A man spoke to his mother-in-law only when he had a matter of importance to communicate and found no one but his mother-in-law to tell it to. "He will then say to her, 'Good afternoon. May I come in?' She will say, 'Why have you come, my son?'—Son, here, is pifun.—He then tells her what he had intended to say to someone else not found in the place, and departs."

No father-in-law–daughter-in-law or mother-in-law–daughter-in-law taboos existed. Quoting a woman in her eighties: "After marriage the woman went with the man to the house of his parents. It would certainly have been an awkward situation if she could not have talked to and been friendly with her father-in-law, living in the same house with him! She not only spoke to her father-in-law but tried in every way to please him. She acted in the same friendly and helpful manner toward her mother-in-law. It is not that way today; it is all turned around today."

In all probability joking relationships were not institutional.

RELIGION AND SUPERNATURAL POWERS

THE SUPREME BEING AND HIS AIDES, SACRED PERSONS

The idea of God as creator is expressed as Ixta chau or ray chau; as one interested in the welfare of the people, as quechún; or the

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gillatun, the tribal religious ceremonial, prayers are directed to chau 776
chau, God as the father of all. "We believed that pwechén came to
earth when we had done our planting and that he moved through the
fields then; that even today he wanders about on the earth and does
good to people." With God, it was believed, lived a woman, known
as ray kuñe, but she was not a goddess, informants insisted. She is
addressed in the prayers of the gillatun as papai, the mother of all.
"That was our old belief," said a woman in her late fifties; "today we
believe that ray chau has living with Him, in addition to ray kuñe, a
virgin who has a son called Jesus. Ray kuñe wears a blue dress; ray
chau, a blue chiripe [pants] and a red poncho. I do not know how
the virgin is dressed. There is only one God. He rules the world
and gives us good health and food and long life. I liked our old way
best, when we believed in ray chau and ray kuñe."

There was no belief in minor deities. Something akin to veneration 778
was shown to stones resembling figurines. (Whether the belief is
an old one was not ascertained.) The cacique in Colihin Curá is said
to have in his possession a stone, approximately 12 inches high, that
has red-blue eyes and red lips. At the gillatun a new silk band is
tied about its forehead and secured at the back of the head with a
knot, just as men secure their headbands; a sash is tied about its
waist; a silver knife placed gaucho-style at its back; and a small
arrowhead put in its arms. "I am afraid of the stone; it is sacred.
Some years ago one of the sons of the cacique sold it to a man from
Buenos Aires but advised him to safeguard it behind several locks.
This the man did. But one night the figurine walked out, killed the
Buenos Aires man, and came back to the seller's house in Colihin Curá.
In the morning it made a terrifying noise; it so frightened the man
who had sold it that he died the following day." When we asked where
in Colihin Curá we might see the figurine, the informant replied, "It
is a dangerous thing for you to try to see it. Stay around until the
time of our gillatun when everyone attending the gillatun can see it.
But be respectful toward it. One time a woman like you [non-
Araucanian] was invited to take part in it [the gillatun]. She said,
'Why should I take part in it? I have no interest in the gillatun.' And
then she made some flippant remarks about the gillatun and also about
the figurine. She went away. An electric storm rose. Lightning
struck her. She fell down and was dead for a few hours. After that
the right side of her face was bound." She added, "I know of no
other sacred stones in use."

Old Araucanian men and women today express awe when they 778
come upon two weather-beaten stones representing figures found in 781

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754 she showed signs of nervousness because of the noise or because of something she saw her children do. Llakatrul did away with killing persons suspected of witchery."

I was told by an 80-year-old woman that she heard that a woman, a suspected witch, was coming to visit her. "I made a cross of garlic (ajo) on the bench where she was to sit. That kept her away from here," said the woman revengefully, and added triumphantly, "and I have not heard since that she plans to visit me." The interpreter was convinced that the informant herself was a witch, for how else could she know what to do to keep a witch away.

● 776 Sokomokorve, witches of "people who lived north of us," formerly lived in the Araucanian country. They were said to be small people, half human and half animal and were fierce fighters. They lived in certain caves (rewe), traveled underground from lake to lake, "like from Lake Huechulafquen to Lake Lacar," and went from what is now Argentina to Chile through passages under the Cordillera.

776 There is a belief in kelgutáken, which are called anchimallen. "They
787 seem to be made of fire, but they do no harm to anyone. When they appear they are all over, everywhere." "My mother," said a 65-year-old woman, "told me anchimallen are round in shape and appear like fire. They leave small footprints in the ashes around the fireplace. When people see them or the footprints, they are frightened."

Several informants had had visions, among them Kelupan. "When I was a young fellow," he said, "I was herding sheep along a well-traveled road. Suddenly, before sundown, the sheep stirred, like sheep do when they are frightened, and made sounds of 'eh, eh, eh,' like frightened sheep do. Since sheep are frightened only when they see something bad, I looked around and then I saw what they were seeing: I saw a ludlen, a woman dressed in black. By that time the sheep had scattered in all directions. Then the woman vanished. Nothing more happened that day. Another day, at sunset, a man and I were walking home—the man was no longer alive. Suddenly, we both saw a rabid (ruw) turn into a giant man. He was dressed in black, too. I called out, 'What are you? A person? Living or dead? Are you a good or a bad person?' He vanished without answering."

776 A woman in her fifties had often heard old Araucanians tell, when she was still a child, that a woman who was still a virgin walked along a road and met a snake. The snake was walking upright, as all snakes formerly walked. The woman commanded the snake to crawl on the earth, and ever since then snakes crawl on the earth. The interpreter, a non-Araucanian, had often heard the same story told by old Araucanians.

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ridding separate households for co-wives and their offspring in polygynous families, a *lof* arrangement of considerable antiquity which still exists among the Mapuche.

Derivative terms such as *lofwen* (participants in communal work) and *lofkudaw* (communal work) suggest that *lof* was used historically in reference to some sort of kin-based economic group, as it is today. It carries this connotation today even though interhousehold agricultural cooperation has diminished in intensity and day-to-day importance, and even though the residence pattern appears to be becoming more "dispersed" through the establishment of independent households.

Elpu is a word used for "lineage," according to the dictionary of Fray Félix José de Augusta (1916), but the definition is of Spanish construction and might reflect the same sort of bias evident in Spanish discussions and definitions of other Mapuche social groups. *Elpu*, in any case, is not in general use today and is not unequivocally translated as "lineage." Mapuche use the Spanish words *descendencia* and *linaje* when discussing lineage affiliation. Of the two, *descendencia* is the more precise. *Linaje* tends to overlap *familia* in definition, and both might be used to refer to an ill-defined extended group of kin. Again, the words *kiñeche* (Araucanian) and *peñeñeo* are used to refer to consanguineal as well as affinal groups, but *kiñeche* has special reference to ancestral spirits. *Gente* is almost equally indecisive, although reference is often to the household. Lineages are not named groups, but sometimes they are distinguished by the name of the reputed founder when greater clarity is called for. Generally, a good deal of discussion is needed before the outsider is able to determine what is meant when these terms are used, since the Mapuche tend to use them nonspecifically and are able to tell from context what is implied. Usually only living relatives are referred to unless matters of inheritance, marriage, and crisis rites are concerned -- and context always serves to make clear the definition of the groups in question.

Genealogies are extended past the grandparental generation only with some difficulty and uncertainty, and after consultation with elders. Although modifications in the traditional system might possibly account for this, there are historical indications of a general lack of secular concern with other than living relatives. And only deceased relatives in the direct patriline are of much social importance -- for example in tracing descent to the original title holder of reservation land or, for ritual purposes, beyond him to "authentic" patrilineal

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kinsmen. This is true even though reservation records dating back to the 1880's are available for the reckoning of all genealogical connections with certainty.

The most common words for reservation are Spanish: *reducción*, *reserva*, *comunidad*, etc. An Araucanian word sometimes used in this connection is *rewün*. It means a division or a part, and it refers to a regional population rather than to that of a single reservation; *rewüntuche*[1] are the inhabitants thereof. The word is rarely encountered in conversations about purely secular affairs, however, since a discussion of reservations per se usually revolves around national or regional politics and economics which involve the use of the Spanish terms mentioned above.

To some degree, therefore, reservation boundaries are vague political abstractions employed only in certain situations and contexts by the Mapuche. The people tend to refer to themselves as belonging to such-and-such a region (identifiable with the ritual congregation) rather than to such-and-such a reservation; and the two referents are seldom coterminous. Also, within reservation boundaries there are local place names with which residents are able to identify. For example, people will refer to themselves as coming from Pelchue (a region including several reservations) where they live on reservation Mariqueo (one of those in the region) in a section of it known as Huaiquin. Consequently, they could be referred to as Pelchueche, Mariqueoche (rare), or Huaiquinche. Although not commonly used today, place names on the order of Huaiquinche are remembered as once having been employed with great frequency, to a time when the *lof* was of greater economic and political importance in the social structure and the ritual congregation smaller and more directly concerned with the propitiation of ancestral spirits.

In the many books written about the Mapuche there has been a good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of kinship groupings (cf. Cooper and Titiev for a discussion of this problem). This seems to have resulted from (1) a failure to differentiate between unilineal and residential principles of integration, (2) biased and imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish

[1] *Tuchuche* is used in a manner which tends to identify a ritual congregation, that is, members of several reservations who regularly participate in affiliated fertility rites. I defer detailed discussion of the ritual integration of Mapuche society to a forthcoming monograph, although I touch on congregationalism in a later chapter.

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Ritual Congregationalism

Organized religious ceremonies take place within a framework of sustained relationships among lineage groups, relationships which involve the regular participation of units in a multireservational ritual congregation. This congregation tends to coincide with the regional (local) expression of the matrilateral marriage system. In short, a nucleus of wife-giving and wife-receiving units linked together in a sustained relationship of matrilateral marriage also comprise constituent parts of the ritual community.

A central feature of Mapuche religious morality is the concept of a relationship of mutual dependence sustained between the living and their ancestors. This represents a kin-based morality, symbolized by the extension of appropriate kinship terms among members of the ritual congregation. The special relationship between the living and the dead is expressed most dramatically in funeral (*ewun*) rites and agricultural fertility (*füllatun*) ceremonies. Each of these ceremonies unites a number of lineages and reservations in concerted ritual action. A discussion of the manner in which these rituals are enacted will serve to indicate the integrative force of Mapuche morality on a multireservational level of social action.

Mapuche religious belief involves the propitiation of authentic ancestors of the lineage, the deification of mythical ancestors, attention to a pantheon of gods who receive regional emphasis, and sup-

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plication of a Supreme Being, *dzeuchen*. Religious activity as observed in funeral rights centers on a concern with authentic ancestral spirits, for the most part, and supplication of *dzeuchen*. Fertility rites are directed mainly, except for the first day of the ceremony and occasionally thereafter, to mythical ancestors, regional gods, and *dzeuchen*. Both ceremonies rest on lineage-based obligations, but both involve the attendance of nonrelated groups; the host group and the guests, taken together, comprise the ritual congregation. This congregation has a core membership which is more or less invariable year in and year out. A major concern of the congregation during any ritual assemblage is counteracting the forces of evil, collectively called *weku̇fe*, and the human embodiment of evil, the sorcerer-witch who is called *kalku*.

The persons who are most intimately concerned with restraining evil and who are most competent to perform on behalf of the living are the *ñillatufe* or ritual priest who represents the people in *ñillatun* ceremonies, the several *werkin* or orators who represent the patrilineages of the deceased and the surviving spouse or other relatives in the funeral service, and the *machi* or shaman who sometimes acts as a functionary during *ñillatun*, in the absence of a ritually competent *ñillatufe*, but whose main task is curing clients of supernaturally induced illness.

The *ñillatufe* and *werkin* have no special powers of their own and act only as ritually proficient intercessors for the assemblage. The shaman is powerful in her own right and is the single member of any community who is so continually preoccupied with the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. She stages a curing performance which is quite theatrical and admirably calculated to impress her patient and observers with her powers. Her paraphernalia includes a drum (*kultrun*) and specially decorated stick, a gourd rattle or one of silver bells, and numerous special herbs. She blows smoke over the patient's body, makes water aspersions, sucks out intrusive objects from affected parts of the body, and so forth. She often becomes possessed by a familiar spirit which "speaks" in a special language through the *machi* to her helper (*ihuwgulmachife*). *Machi* who are adepts at ventriloquism are able to throw their "spirit" voices to all corners of the hut, creating an atmosphere of awesome mystery which grips the attention of those assembled. By definition, a *machi* enlists the forces of good to combat evil in behalf of the people. Nevertheless, the fact that she has personal contact with the forces of evil,

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that she enters into the supernatural world and grapples with evil spirits, sometimes causes people to fear particular *machi* as potential evildoers themselves, as capable and suspected of practicing sorcery. While shamans are obviously important agents through whom individual Mapuche deal with the supernatural, they usually do not operate at the level of social action in which the ritual congregation is involved as a moral community. Therefore, I defer an analysis of shamanism to a future monograph, concerning myself here with a discussion of community-based ritual.

The most important ceremonies in which the ritual congregation is involved are *ñillatun* and *nguillatun*. *Ñillatun* is an agricultural fertility rite which is generally held in the postharvest season, to supplicate the powers that be to insure the production of crops, animals, and the prosperity and well-being of the Mapuche. It is also held in the postharvest season to give thanks, to ask for continued protection from the forces of evil, and sometimes to register complaints concerning poor crops or the loss of animals. Special attention is given the spirits of departed chiefs who walk in the company of sons of the gods and who are called upon to intercede before *dewachen* and the pantheon on behalf of the people. Regional deities such as *gnel* and goddess of the Southwind (*huaillipucha* and *huaillikuche*) are supplicated to restrain their forces, or *dewachen* is asked to restrain them. *Ñillatun* is always held on a well-demarcated and traditional ceremonial field on the host reservation. Where tradition is remembered, there is a mythical account of the special connection between this sacred place and the dominant lineage of the host reservation.

When the appropriate season of the year draws near, one of a set of reservations engages in preparations for the staging of a *ñillatun* ceremony. The set of reservations, very often a triad, celebrates *ñillatun* annually, at least ideally. One of the set is considered the host unit on successive occasions, the others participating as responsible members (as distinguished from mere participants) of the set. The leadership of these ceremonies is vested specifically in the *ñillatufe*, ideally a chief of one of the set of reservations, a person in whom are integrated the roles of elder of the dominant lineage of the host reservation, and priest of the host group. These roles are only analytically separable as are the statuses involved. Together they comprise a status and role set which serves to perpetuate the office of reservation chief.

This set of reservations forms the nucleus of most responsible units involved in any single *ñillatun* celebration. Invitations are extended

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the deceased's spirit an uneventful journey to the proper resting place of the dead. This afterworld, viewed as a shadow world similar though better than that of the living, forms a very real segment of Mapuche society. Departed spirits constitute links between the living and the mythical ancestors and other figures in the pantheon. Ancestral spirits are implored to protect the recently deceased from capture by kalku who are desirous of converting the newly released spirit into a bloodsucking force of evil which would contribute to the misfortune of the living.

The most intimately involved and most responsible persons participating in any funeral service are those of the patrilineages of which the deceased is either a member by birth or an affine. Taking a pair of spouses as point of reference, the lineages most intimately involved would be those of the husband and wife, each of which provides at least one oowpin, regardless of which spouse has died. The task of the oowpin is to speak the praises of the dead, offer a genealogical accounting of his status with respect to his lineage and that to which he is united by marriage, and pray to lineage ancestors to the end that they assist the dead person's spirit in avoiding capture by the forces of evil.

The ceremony is always held on the husband's reservation under normal patrilocal conditions. The involved lineages resident on this reservation, or at least the elders of these lineages, are under strong moral compulsion to attend the funeral ceremony. Likewise, representatives of the entire wife-giving reservation, in addition to members of the wife's lineage thereon, are under obligation to attend. By this action they absolve themselves before the gods and the assemblage of complicity in the crime of homicidal sorcery. While the festive aspects of funerals, the drinking and eating and conviviality of the assemblage, are partly responsible for the attendance of other people living in the neighborhood, as members of the moral community these too are under a certain measure of compulsion to make an appearance or to send representatives. As a rule, remorse is deeply felt by all participants and it is highly problematical whether the compulsive aspect of attendance should be viewed primarily with respect to social interaction among the living or with regard to human fear and humility before the forces of good and evil, constituting as they do such an important part of the Mapuche social ambience. Except for analytic purposes, these aspects of obligation are deeply mingled

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think it proceeded from no religious inclination towards the evil spirit, but only from fear of him, and from the compulsion used by the jugglers; so that they rather merit the imputation of stupidity than of blasphemy.

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Not only the Abipones, but likewise the Mocobies, Tobas, Yapitalakas, Guayeurus and other equestrian people of Chaco, boast themselves grandsons of the evil spirit, partakers no less of their superstition than of their madness. But how different are the opinions entertained by the southern equestrian tribes, who wander up and down the region of Magellan! They are all acquainted with the devil, whom they call Balichú. They believe that there is an innumerable crowd of demons, the chief of whom they name El El, and all the inferior ones Quenubá. They think, however, every kind of demon hostile and mischievous to the human race, and the origin of all evil, regarding them in consequence with dread and abhorrence. The Puelches, Picunches, or Moluches, are unacquainted even with the name of God. These last ascribe all the good things they either possess or desire to the sun, and to the sun they pray for them. When a priest of our order told them that God, the creator of all things, and amongst the rest of the sun, should be worshipped before the work of his own

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Two: DIMENSIONS OF THE SUPERNATURAL WORLD

THIS chapter attempts to place in significant order concepts about the most sacred supernatural forces and beings operative in Mapucheland. It is concerned with the ideational aspects of Mapuche religion. Mapuche are socialized in these beliefs—so successfully that Christianity does not appear even as a significant veneer over traditional belief.

Mapuche religious lore consists of a body of beliefs to which an estimated 250,000 people subscribe with a great amount of agreement. The concepts and ceremonies concerning the pantheon of gods, afterlife, malevolent forces, although exhibiting significant regional variation in certain details, present a fairly consistent picture throughout Mapucheland. Among the Mapuche, generally, it may be said that most persons who participate regularly in ceremonial activities have quite similar notions about religion and ritual performance. Similarity of belief and action, therefore, has a certain regional expression, and the region defined by the anthropologist and the Mapuche themselves is greater or smaller depending on the level of generalization on which beliefs and actions are analyzed.

While there is marked cultural uniformity throughout Mapucheland, there is significant regional variation in emphasis placed on the propitiation of sets of gods and deified ancestral spirits. Mapuche deities are anthropomorphic and anthroposocial, some of them differing from one lineage group to the next. This is difference of a social nature, within a framework of great cultural homogeneity. Its significance may be understood best by maintaining as separate analytical tools the concepts of culture and society, the failure to do so having resulted in a number of unfortunate interpretations of Mapuche religion to date.

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Nenechen and the Pantheon

• 776 The Mapuche have a numerous pantheon, consisting of major, minor, and lesser deities. Respectively, these may be called ethnic, regional, and lineage deities. The organization of concepts denies significant Christian influence, but there have been, or appear to have been, inroads. Although I discuss this aspect of acculturation in the final chapter, it might be useful at this point to indicate the kind of change Mapuche religion might have undergone as a result of Christian missionization.

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Let us say that *Nenechen* is a Supreme Being for most Mapuche. This is generally true, whether or not *Nenechen* is conceived of as the same or distinct from the Christian God. *Nenechen* is called the god of the Mapuche, and this should not be taken lightly. Outspoken Mapuche say that the whites have their god and the Mapuche theirs. It is difficult, however, to establish with any certainty how generalized this belief is in Mapucheland, for reasons which I shall elaborate later. Nevertheless, whether conceived of as the same or as distinct from the Christian God, *Nenechen's* apical position in the pantheon might well be a result of Christian influence. It is important to note in this regard that *Nenechen* is called Supreme Being only when Mapuche use the Spanish language. Since it is not customary for them to render this concept in Araucanian, the ritual language, it is always difficult to discern to just what extent the Spanish rendition reflects Mapuche thinking. In any case, the supremacy of *Nenechen*, in the Christian sense of divinity, is inconsistent with much of Mapuche belief. Mapuche notions of the opposition of good and evil forces, however, provide some logical basis for the implantation of at least some Christian concepts.

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Nenechen is not considered omniscient or omnipotent. He is called "god of the Mapuche," "ruler of the Mapuche," and several other terms of almost identical meaning. Often, during the ceremonial recitations, prefixes such as *chau* (father) or *kume* (good) are used when *Nenechen* is invoked. There are other gods who are sometimes identified with *Nenechen*, though most often they are not—at least not in formal ritual expression.

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When there is identification, the peculiar qualities of these minor or regional deities appear as attributes of *fenechen*, or they themselves might be raised to the same level as *fenechen*, the rationale being that these are simply different names for the same god. This again seems to be a syncretism resulting from Christian influence, but it is, as always, problematical to what extent the Mapuche really order their concepts of the godhead in a Christianized framework. On occasion, any deity may be described as *a fenechen*, and the expression *weza* (evil) *fenechen* is also employed—all of which sheds doubt on any deep penetration of Christian ideas.

Fenemapun is said to have made the earth and to rule the earth, which is sometimes said of *fenechen*. *Elchen* or *elchen chau* is spoken of as the "maker of the people" and the "father of the people." Sometimes *fenemapun* and *elchen* are equated with *fenechen*, most often not. It is said that one term is older than the others and therefore more correct, depending on the context in which they are used. The Mapuche frequently resort to historico-linguistic explanations of this sort to reconcile—before the outsider—contradictory or overlapping terminology and concepts. Within these limits, there is a marked consistency with which the word *fenechen* is used in Mapuche ritual expression.

The gods have wives and children. In most cases Mapuche logic seems to attribute patriarchal qualities to the gods simply in order to round out the universe. Wives of the gods are never important figures, either in myth or during ceremonies. The same may be said for most of the sons of the gods (that gods have daughters seems no more than a logical Mapuche extension, for these are of no apparent mythical or ritual importance); but the sons of certain gods, especially the *kurufua*, are of great importance. *Nenechen* is married to an old woman called *fenechen kushe*, whose attributes are far inferior to those of her husband. *Pillan*, sometimes equated with Satan, the god of thunder or of the volcanoes, has *pillan kushe* beside him. Her powers are at most complementary to those of her husband. There are no female deities with great or special powers, unless one consider the familiar spirits of shamans as such. They

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776 appear as window dressing in the supernatural world, their main function seeming to be that of completing the complementarity of sexes in the Mapuche universe.

776 773 It is said that "everything has its spirit" and that there are certain gods which control and, in some instances, have created the many natural phenomena. *Nenechen* made and is master of the people; *dewenuapun* made and is master of the earth. Lesser gods or, more properly, the minor gods control specific phenomena. Despite some inconsistency with regard to creation or, as it were, multiple creation, it is clear that all the minor gods are at the behest of *dewenchen*. There is good reason for believing that this has not always been the case—that *dewenchen* was not always considered the supreme deity—but, in a monograph of this sort, there seems small worth in trying to develop this point. It is apparent that there was a god or culture hero who created man, and today this god is sometimes also credited with having created the earth, sky, and most if not all the phenomena observed by man.

776 The minor gods, while under the control of *dewenchen*, retain a certain freedom of action. Some of them are described as picaresque, although in no sense malevolent. For example, *kupukefuche* and his wife, *kupukeñuche*—god and goddess of abundance—do not automatically bestow man with rich crops and herds. They do answer prayers if properly addressed, and [1982] they are beseeched to intercede before *dewenchen* on behalf of mankind. But there are myths and other accounts which indicate their capricious behavior. While they are asked to intercede with *dewenchen*, *dewenchen* himself is supplicated to oversee their activities. This kind of double security measure is characteristic of Mapuche emotions and general outlook reflected therein, and becomes quite apparent during *nillatun* which are directed as a congregational enterprise to *dewenchen*.

776 769 The surest manner of enlisting the services of these gods is through the intercession of one's local ancestors, especially dead chiefs, who are watchful over mankind and who walk the earth in the company of the sons of the gods. The divine, celestially conceived sons of the gods—most importantly, the sons of *kupukefuche*, the *keruhue*—and the spirits of former chiefs return to earth especially to lend assistance to the

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Mapuche. Appeal, therefore, to the spirits of the dead (*pu am, pu lahu, huiñche*, etc.) is the best way of obtaining the good will of the *kupuche*. While it is to *dewenhen* that final appeal is made, for only he is able to control the minor gods, the closest ties between man and the supernatural beings (which are clearly discernible as deities of significance) exist between the Mapuche and the regional gods and goddesses. I have already cited the *kupuche*, supernatural beings accorded varying degrees of importance in different parts of Mapucheland, but known everywhere. I may also mention the gods of the south wind, *huiñfuche* and his wife *huiñfuache*, who are of especial importance in certain parts of the coastal zone. The principal notion which emerges, despite what may be said about the special importance of these gods for certain regions, is that in the concept of multiple deities a sure a progression from man to deity, expressed on the one hand as a hierarchical ordering of major, minor, and lesser deities, and on the other in the knowledge that all Mapuche may in time become lords of the sun. Such belief is crucial to the operation of the Mapuche system of religious morality, and is a social fact crucial to its understanding.

While the *kupuche* may either give or withhold what man asks of them, and are therefore considered somewhat capricious, other of the minor deities are viewed differently. I refer especially to *huiñfuche/huache* (god and goddess of the south wind), *lafkenfuche/kuche* (god and goddess of the sea), *trallenfuche/kuche* or, sometimes, *pillenfuche/kuche* (god and goddess of thunder), *antufuche/kuche* (god and goddess of the sun), and *kuyenfuche/kuche* (god and goddess of the moon). It is mainly with restraining or, rather, channeling the forces of these gods that the people are concerned, and it is to *dewenhen* that they pray in order that their powers be impeded or well directed. As is the case with *dewenhen* and his wife, these minor gods are conceived of as old people and are thought to be invisible.

While the minor gods are felt to lack restraint, they are by no means equated with the forces of evil—an unthinkable connection. However, when prayers are not answered, when things "go wrong," the distaff side of the divine pair often bears the brunt of mental disappointment. Orthodox Mapuche likes the wives

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of the gods to their notion of mortal women, suggesting that they are not wholly reliable and are given to evil-talk or left-talk (respectively: *wesa* and *wele thungun*). In the case of goddesses, this does not imply sorcery, as it tends to among mortal women, but it means that they influence their divine spouses not in the best interests of mankind. As a reflection of the human situation, in which in-married women are suspect of practicing sorcery on the reservation, the logic of this belief is compelling. It certainly serves as a handy explanation of why even ritually perfect ceremonies may fail to achieve the desired results. While it places, or tends to place, the male gods wholly on the side of good and thus establishes their superiority over the forces of evil and over the distaff side of the divine couples, it nevertheless attributes considerable persuasive power to the female half of the supernatural world. Again, this reflects the relative status of males (agnates) and females (in-married women) on the reservations.

Ancestral Spirits, Authentic and Mythical

Spirits of the dead may enter into active and sustained relationships with the living and, in so doing, some of them may become contaminated agents of *kalku*. Most ancestral spirits, however, are conceived of as being relatively inactive with regard to the day-to-day affairs of the living. Indeed, they are generally feared when they depart from this traditional role of inactivity. They are pictured as living in the shadow world of afterlife, in surroundings of abundance and ease. They must be propitiated in public or private ritual. They are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* on behalf of their responsible heirs. Usually, they are considered troublesome should they return to earth, and they may even be driven from the family precincts by proper ritual (*amulpellun*) so that they will not fall victim to *kalku*. Among ancestral spirits, those of greatest importance are the former "chiefs"—elders and founders of lineage groups—who are powerful benefactors of mankind. They walk the earth in the company of the gods, especially the *karuhua*, and are ever watchful, on the alert to protect and aid their living kinsmen.

When the Mapuche speak of their departed chiefs (*caciques*), it is obvious that they have fallen into the prevailing Chilean mode of expression.

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out during the subsequent days or weeks, a person is tempted to discuss the matter with relatives, especially with knowledgeable elders, eschewing the services of the shaman. If one's relatives place a harmless interpretation on the omens, the matter comes to an end with continued good fortune. This occurs with great frequency, as might be imagined. It is usually not until a person actually sickens that he seeks out a *machi*.

In general, ancestral spirits are felt to live with kindred souls in the afterworld. The Mapuche do not appear to conceptualize this arrangement in any great detail, at least not without the encouragement of the visiting anthropologist. They speak of the social relationships among their ancestors in a vague and general manner, merely stating that "things" are pretty much as they are in Mapucheland, except that life in the afterworld is easier and better. It seems of significance that ancestral chiefs look after the well-being of the living, not the dead. In turn the responsibility for the eternal ease or beatitude of the dead lies with the living. The social structure of the ancestral world is, therefore, clearly meshed with that of contemporary Mapuche society and is not an entity completely apart. These pneumatic ancestral spirits, after all, comprise direct links between mortals and the major and minor deities.

As already indicated, it is of analytic value to make a distinction between degrees of relationship between the living and the dead. A word at this point, therefore, may not be amiss with regard to mythical and authentic ancestors, and the ranks of deity. Mythical ancestors are included among those generalized deities supplicated on a regional, but apparently not on a pan-Mapuche, basis. For example, two ancestral figures who drowned in the Toltén River near where it empties into the Pacific Ocean are today visible in the form of birds (hawks of the sun) which occasionally appear at the *ñillatun* ceremonies held by the residents of the region. Genealogies have obviously been fabricated with respect to these figures, and they are what I consider generalized ancestors, regional deities of the lower echelon, figments of a maturing, local mythology. They are one step in the hierarchy above authentic ancestors, also shrouded in myth, who head distinct descent groups among the contemporary Mapuche. Strong lineal ties are expressed between members of descent groups and their authentic ancestors, regardless of

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whatever manipulations have taken place with respect to genealogies. The range of kinship ties between living Mapuche and the mythical, regional ancestors, however, is more diffuse, broader, and includes a large number of descent groups. These larger units I call "ritual congregations." They are not clans, in any accepted sense. It is simply that in moving outward from the clearly definable patrilineal descent group to the ritual congregation we find a connection with other deities of a more general importance to the local population, a connection of unospecific, ethnic importance, rather than one of a narrow genetic nature. While these deities may be known to all Mapuche, regardless of region, they are deemed of especially close relationship by Mapuche of a particular region. They may be shared by people of more than one ritual group, or congregation, as for example are the god and goddess of the south wind along much of the Pacific coast. But among one congregational unit such deities are taken as generalized ancestors, and among others they are merely part of the pantheon, with no special concern for the living, and to whom the living do not express any especial need to fabricate connecting links. In this latter sense, they are generalized forces, rather than genetic personifications of power.

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The local, mythical ancestral gods, therefore, are bound by tenuous ties of kinship to regional blocks of Mapuche. Descent is employed as a concept of ethnic solidarity, rather than in an exact genetic sense. These bonds are stretched to a point in time during which the Mapuche and Mapuchetland were created, or to a time in the remote past subsequent to the initial struggle between the forces of good and evil (Tren Tren and Kai Kai), in which mankind (Mapuche) emerged in control of the world. Today, large congregations recognize the same generalized, mythical ancestors in the absence of any recognized bonds of kinship, although some of the units of the congregation are directly linked through bonds of marriage in the matrilateral system. Relationships are couched in terms of descent, but they are based on locality and, to a large measure, on the web of marital ties. Exactly which of the local deities are propitiated at any *ñillatun* ceremony is a matter of regional identification, a feature which helps define the extension of the regional congregation.

There is regional overlapping in the propitiation of these

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769 mythical ancestral deities, which appears to have considerable
• 772 analytic significance. An example will serve to indicate some-
794 thing of this. The god of thunder, usually called pillan,
184 sometimes rukafilwhe, is supplicated in and near the Andes as an ancestral deity by a number of congregations. These he takes on the characteristics of a regional deity. The god of thunder, under the same or other names, is known but neither similarly conceived nor propitiated by the coastal populations. The god of the south wind is everywhere important along the coast, is taken as a mythical ancestor by some of the central coastal groups but, although known as a deity by the Andean congregations, does not receive pan-Mapuche veneration. In the mountains, one learns that the god of the south wind is a specifically coastal god. There are even finer distinctions between regional affiliations to minor and mythical ancestral deities, with noticeable overlapping among geographically proximate units of the population.

769 Part of this local overlapping, which sometimes gives the
772 impression of confusion, is, I believe, a result of a gradation
184 between authentic and mythical ancestral spirits, something which possibly has been expressed in innumerable shiftings of loyalty during the long-recorded Mapuche history. The relative importance of any deity or set of gods changes over time. The most obvious and most easily traced changes take place with respect to the lesser gods. Full deification, for example, and later regional generalization, comes about as a result of first, genealogical manipulation and second, inadequate (oral) recording of relationships. I will return to this matter in a later chapter. Here, though, I might add that a congregation propitiates these half-forgotten ancestors outside the regular framework of lineal descent, and that this is not fully recognized by the Mapuche. It is usually said that such-and-such an ancestor-god lived in the area long ago, in the time of the Spanish wars, when Mapuche lived to be several hundred years of age. An attempt is made to place the mundane existence of these ancestor-gods at a time of the re-creation myth (see p. 75).

769 The process leading to ancestral deification emerges when
613 dealing with the upper generations of lineage organization, and only then. Apart from this, there is no confusion in establishing

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continuity between the living and the dead, these authentic ancestors. This is true even though, as mentioned before, there is ample evidence that genealogical manipulation is an ongoing process and that, in general, the number of generations between supposedly historical events and the present have been compressed to serve the needs of local groups. Authentic ancestors are always mentioned by name or by designations such as grandfather, great-grandfather, and so on, and continuity of generations, even though of questionable genealogical accuracy, is always expressed in the comparatively exact idiom of kinship. This is taken as fact by the Mapuche. In contrast, *huecuvoe* and, to a certain extent, the minor deities are figuratively classed as "fathers," a flexibility which makes for much greater inclusiveness with respect to the composition of any congregational unit, in contrast to specific unilineal kingroups.

As a group, authentic ancestors are supplicated as *huiñche* or *huiñpeñe*. It is clear from context that these words connote "our direct lineal ancestors." These spirits are propitiated in the great *ñillatun* rite, mainly as intercessors before *Ñenechen* and before whatever other minor deities are of importance for the local congregation on any specific ritual occasion; but they are not the center of attention. In the *ñillatun* ceremony, it is the generalized ancestors, the local regional gods, and the creator, *Ñenechen*, which command the people's attention. Authentic ancestors serve smaller groups of greater homogeneity and are most intimately involved in funeral ceremonies and in the continual tug of war between shamans and sorcerer. This seems to indicate that although all ritual action rests on the firm belief in the connection between the living and their own ancestors, the Mapuche recognize that regional congregational ceremonies and funerals are of a different order; that while the same persons, or segments of the regularly participating group, tend to interact on all ritual occasions, the organization is differently conceived for *ñillatun* and for *ewn*. An examination of the social action involved in these ceremonies, in relation to their symbolic correlates, takes us to the very heart of the Mapuche system of religious morality. But that is a task for subsequent chapters.

Hawks of the sun are tethered to specific unilineal kingroups.

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of the sun are restricted to specific unilineal kingroups. When the bonds which hold them are loosed or broken because of some infraction of the moral code—caused by the negligence of their heirs—they are in danger of being ensnared by wily sorcerers and forced to perform evil deeds in the night. Once in the clutches of a sorcerer the spirit is completely and eternally helpless. There is no way back for the spirit, no way in which its living relatives are able to free it from serving evil or from doing harm to them. However, the living are still able to ward off the general forces of evil, of which this spirit has recently become a part. They may resort to the services of one or another ritual specialist, depending on how the threat of evil is conceived. In effect, then, the living are able to propitiate the dead to protect themselves against the dead and against the other forces of evil—all spirits who have fallen under the influence of *kalku* and the foreboding powers of malignancy. This is a reassuring counterbalancing of the powers of good magic over black. But once any particular spirit has fallen and has become converted to a ghost, it remains evil and continues to inflict harm on anyone, usually at the behest of a *kalku*, sometimes at its own discretion, always to obtain its victim's blood. The contaminated spirit is no longer identifiable as a specific ancestor. It is invisible, but it may be seen on occasion by humans in one of several stereotyped forms that it may assume. Once contaminated, it becomes a force of generalized evil.

And so, the living have to be careful to propitiate the dead in order that at least an effective number of their own ancestors remain watchful over them. These are, *ipso facto*, ancestral spirits of greatest social significance and include a line of chiefs and former warriors. They are the long-dead authentic ancestors who, it appears, eventually become mythical, generalized deities. The reciprocal obligations which constitute the backbone of Mapuche morality bind the living and the dead through eternity, provided they are not broken by the extinction of the lineage or the ritual congregation.

Patrilineages are the primary units involved in the definition of rights and obligations surrounding marriage, bridewealth, and the celebration of all life crises. The sanctions for these relationships are always supernatural and depend on direct linkage to the ancestral spirits; they are clearly among the most

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important sets of rights and duties operative in Mapuche society. And these relationships are most dramatic with respect to death rites and their correlative ceremonies of birth and naming. In the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) the child is symbolically identified with one of his ancestors in the paternal line. Upon marriage, there comes about a significant shifting of ancestral loyalties and obligations, or an extension of these. This is a reorganization which remains subliminal in the marriage ceremony itself, and becomes fully expressed only in subsequent congregational attitudes and activities associated with birth, death, and the supernatural world, which involves paired sets of matrimonial groups. In a very real sense, the Mapuche drama of life begins with the release of an ancestral spirit.

Supernatural Beliefs Defined

Not appearing on the surface, and not readily acknowledged by the Mapuche to outsiders, is a pervading concern with a host of lesser supernatural beings and malignant forces. There is an undercurrent of supernatural beliefs which affects even the most acculturated of the reservation Mapuche, and which comes to the surface mainly in time of stress, when omens are interpreted and supernatural explanations resorted to.

The Mapuche world is viewed as being inhabited by many malevolent spirits. Outside Mapuchcland, the exact location sometimes conceived as an island (*nomelafken*) far to the west and sometimes as a place in the sky (*wenumapu*), are found the vast majority of benevolent ancestral spirits. These spirits—hawks of the sun—on occasion descend to earth and return to Mapuchcland, either to remind their kinsmen of certain neglected obligations or to assist them in various ways. Benevolent ancestral spirits may be characterized as pneumatic, and may be otiose, but they are capable of becoming active in that sphere of the supernatural which connects man and god. This is in contrast to animistic spirits, which are embodiments of evil in the universe. All spirits, however, good, bad, or indifferent, are numinous.

Personal misfortune sharpens one's awareness of the existence of evil and reinforces supernatural beliefs. General misfortune involving flood, crop failure, large-scale death of animals, and

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777 782 the like is not attributed to any specific force of evil, but rather to a pervading malevolence and a feeling that *ñenechen* has been insufficiently or imperfectly propitiated. There is a partial acceptance of hardship and an attempt to supplicate *ñenechen* in public ceremonial, in order to control the machinations of the collective *wekufe*, generalized evil. Failure of ceremonial appeal may result in some diminution of faith in the efficacy of the priest (*ülkantufe*) who conducts the ritual, but it does not seem to lessen belief in the general body of religious lore and ritual action. If anything, it seems to heighten concern with sorcery and the forces of evil that plague humanity. The failure of public ritual in some cases encourages persons to seek additional individual protection through shamanistic assistance.

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• 996 995 *Wekufe* is the generic term for all malevolent spirits and forces in the world. As a descriptive device, since the Mapuche do not order as much as they lump these forces of evil, they may be categorized as animistic and placed into three groups: animals, natural phenomena, and ghosts. Any evil spirit has the power, or is able through the manipulation of a *kalku*, to assume the form of a being representative of any of the three groups, and to make itself visible and invisible at will. These spirits or forces are abroad mostly at night, although they may be active in the daytime as well. They are all at some time or other under the control of a sorcerer, but if mistreated they have enough power of their own to operate freely against her, should she be off-guard. They may even be able to kill her. Although there is a general feeling that witches never die, there is the contradictory notion that they may be killed through the agency of the forces they have failed to control. Shamans may thwart the designs of witches, but they are seldom felt to have enough power to kill them, that is, make a witch's familiar spirits consume her. After all the bits of data are sifted, Mapuche logic forces the conclusion that the only way a *kalku* may die, without being killed by a rebellious spirit, is to be executed by a human with the consent of a local descent group. But even with regard to this matter there is not complete agreement, some Mapuche feeling that only the corporeal part of the witch is destroyed, while the evil soul remains to cause grief elsewhere. Formerly, as described in the literature and in oral accounts, witches were

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burned and dismembered at the order of a *kalku*. Nowadays they are simply driven from the community, since the people fear reprisal from the Chilean government. At least in one litigation in the Chilean courts, a Mapuche woman was cleared of responsibility for murdering a suspected witch since, the judge held, such action was in conformance with traditional belief.

Animal Forms. The forms which evil forces may assume are multiple and highly varied. Only the most common ones will be discussed here. All are harmful, both to humans and animals, and they almost always suck the blood of their victim. They contaminate the essence of the creature by attacking its substance, and the inevitable result of a successful attack is the loss of the creature's soul and its eventual possession by a sorcerer. The contaminated soul or spirit in turn acquires an insatiable desire for blood. The control and recruitment of evil beings is thus circular and unending.

The more common forms are mainly animals of the field and forest, perhaps with certain distorted characteristics, but there are also a few unnatural forms which combine either parts of two animals or animal and human parts. Among these latter is the *chonchon*, described as a bird with a human head, sometimes said to be the evil incarnation of a practicing sorcerer. *Piwichen* sometimes takes the form of a cock, sometimes a snake with wings, and in either form thrives on human or animal blood. *Wallepen* is described as a large beast of the forest, capable of changing into a sheep or into the combined form of a sheep and cow. It lives in the swampy woods and harms people and animals at the time of birth, causing them to be crippled or blind. The afflicted person, the victim, is sometimes called *wallepen*. Variations on this theme are innumerable.

Actual birds, such as the *pequen*, *concon*, *kiñiñi*, *huairu*, *wetiwetü*, *juve*, *parino*, and others are harbingers of evil, birds of the night who pass over houses or sing near them, portending misfortune and death. They are of little or no significance if seen in the daytime, provided they do not linger near one's house after sundown. Nor are they greatly feared when heard to sing in the fields or woods at a distance from the house. The day birds of evil omen are the *kaiku* and *pitrin*. The *wiki*, *tregul*, and

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wildfire are birds of good omen, especially when they appear and sing near the house. They have no specific powers, but their presence is a good sign.

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Aruanko and *ekeniyalew* are considered human forms with animal attributes. The former is frog-like or reveals itself as a swamp creature on one occasion, there as an *ewkimalleu* (a small ghost-like figure) on another. There is a certain logic to this apparent contradiction which, however, belongs to a discussion of mythology per se and will not be discussed in this book. The *ekeniyalew* is most often described as a young maiden (although sometimes as a handsome young man) who lives in streams and lakes and lures young men into her watery domain. She is thought of as the mistress or owner of fishes.

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Natural Phenomena. *Chaw-fe* comprise such natural phenomena as firebells, comets, shooting stars and other anomalous whirlwinds, stone axes (supposedly descended from the sky)[1] and innumerable animate and inanimate natural objects. The Mapuche believe everything in nature has a spirit of its own. Generally at the behest of sorcerers these objects are sent to inflict illness or death, but they are also conceived of as capable of operating independently of *kalku* and causing hardship randomly. Some of them are equated with the Chilean diseases, and there is a tendency to generalize *chawfe* to cover all maladies as well. Fire emanating from *chawfe* portends death when passing near a house; at a distance it signifies trouble elsewhere.

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Ghosts. While the Mapuche do not have a generic word to designate "ghost," they describe certain beings with the attributes associated with ghosts, as the word is used in English. Ghosts are evil, by Mapuche definition, and not confused with benevolent departed human spirits, although they are recruited from the ranks of ancestral spirits. There would seem to be an overlap between animistic and pneumatic spirits in the conception and some contradiction in what Mapuche believe about ancestral spirits. The contradiction or overlap lends itself to an interesting explanation. Ghosts are no longer, properly speaking, ancestors, but the contaminated essence of persons who died and were captured by sorcerers. This is especially so of children who died before the naming ceremony (*lahutun*) and received no formal status in Mapuche society. Females do not undergo a

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ancestral spirits "sit over." Also serves to characterize wandering spirits of the dead, as in the concept wilwendiye, a soul or spirit doomed to, or in danger of, earthbound existence, as the captive of a witch. Pelle is used almost exclusively for the soul which is felt to linger around the corpse during the days between death and final burial. The term wese pelle, evil spirit, suggests that the soul can become bothersome and even dangerous if it lingers too long.

Encounters with Malevolent Forces

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Malevolent forces are everywhere present, but accidental contact with them is seldom direct or at close quarters. When it is, the individual is almost always overwhelmed and dies. People found dead along the road or in the fields and woods are considered the victims of direct and overwhelming contact with the forces of evil. More often, however, persons merely have troubles with the supernatural—narrow escapes—and live to tell of their experiences. In dreams one also encounters malevolent spirits who might capture one's soul under the direction of a baliba. But there are also beneficent spirits in the dream world, encounters with which are taken as a good omen. The most frequently observed supernatural agents, though, are malevolent night birds, seen or heard near one's house. Their observation, or the mere suspicion of their presence, has an electric effect in the household, and it is on these occasions that the most detailed and hair-raising stories are told about encounters with the supernatural. A few examples follow.

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One night we were sitting around the fire, wondering if we should go to bed. Suddenly, the family became quite still and alert and immediately rushed outside the house, some carrying pieces of firewood. They threw sticks at a tree near the dwelling and shouted the name of a bird, wutlwutli. Although I was outside too, I could neither see nor hear the bird. Presently, we all returned to the fireside and my hosts continued to reminisce about supernatural experiences for several hours, postponing sleep until almost dawn. While all encounters with night birds are not as dramatic as this one was, they never fail to invoke a restless and anxious feeling among the people, which

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seems to be somewhat dissipated by telling stories of other episodes of a similar nature. These events are also told to neighbors and circulate in the community and beyond.

The following tale is one which concerns an encounter with witranalwe. It is a generally-known story, and of especial interest because it illustrates certain behavior not predictable on the basis of formal kinship relationships. It involves trickery between two young men and their father's brother, in which a supernatural agent was effectively dealt with and induced to turn against his master, the paternal uncle, a rare example of a male sorcerer.

In the environs of Pitrufquén, there lived a rather wealthy man who had many animals. He also had a witranalwe to guard them in his absence. Near this wealthy man lived two of his brother's sons, who were poor.

One day, the rich man visited his nephews' house. They all began to drink a lot of wine and became a little drunk by late afternoon. They began to feel hungry, but the nephews had nothing to serve the old man. They decided to steal a couple of sheep from the corral of their uncle. One said to the other that he was a rich old man and that stealing one of his sheep, perhaps even two, did not matter much. They went to the uncle's corral together, leaving the old man in their house drinking.

When they arrived, they saw a huge figure on horseback. The man wore a very large, black hat. He had a large mouth and long, sharp teeth, and a big, penetrating set of eyes. He wore a Spanish poncho, also large and black; and he had a set of silver spurs with great rowels. Upon seeing him, one of the nephews ran away, but the other, who had a sheep under his arm, stood stock still before him. He fearfully asked, "Who are you, caballero?" The answer came in a very low and deep voice: "I am the partner of the owner of these sheep." The nephew then said that the owner of the sheep was his uncle and, therefore, "Señor, we are like kinsmen."

After this, the young man took a little more courage and spoke further to the witranalwe: "Señor, why not let me take this sheep for the fiesta in my house? My uncle is a very wealthy man, and the loss of one little lamb, which he himself will eat part of, will not matter to him." The witranalwe answered in a very deep voice, "Alright, but I want a bowl of nachi [blood] when you kill the animal."

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The young man assented to this demand, at the same time asking the witranalwe to help him carry the sheep back to the house. As soon as they arrived at the young man's house, he told the witranalwe to return in a little while for the blood. The nephew killed the sheep and drained the blood into a wooden bowl. He set both the bowl and a pitcher of wine outside the house for the witranalwe. The witranalwe approached at a gallop, drank the fuchi at one gulp, and then toured off the wine. When he finished, he galloped off to the uncle's corral to keep watch over his master's sheep. He never revealed the secret to his master.

There is a good deal of bravado in this account, but it is apparent from this and similar stories that ordinary people can deal successfully with supernatural agents, provided they are alert, courageous, and take advantage of what the situation offers. Other encounters with *witranalwe* are often more lugubrious, but I have heard rather humorous stories as well. The Mapuche jokingly call *witranalwe* the mounted Chilean policemen, who sometime ride the roads at night between towns, dressed in their white tunics and astride large army horses. It seems not so much a matter of individual mood and attitude about supernatural encounters that accounts for a sprinkling of levity in recounting tales of meetings with *witranalwe* and other *wekufe*, as it does the specifics of the situation. The situation is the governing factor. Alone at night, the spectre is terrifying. After a startling experience, people can return to the relative security of the fireside and make jokes about the evil spirits. They are everpresent, however, and must be dealt with continually. The details of the story of the uncle and his nephews lend themselves to an interpretation dealing with feelings of hostility against authority figures, such as the paternal uncle.

People are captured bodily by certain spirits, one of which is the *shompalwe* described earlier. In the Lumalla region, south of Lake Villarrica, there was a tale being told during my residence of a young woman lost to a male *shompalwe*. A woman's foot was discovered near a mountain stream, and people in the vicinity remembered hearing a strange cry from that locality some weeks before, while walking the road at night. The girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food

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girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food offering for the *shompalwe*, in order to obtain fishing luck for herself and her family. She went to an out-of-the-way place, where someone was supposed to have been captured by one of these spirits, for in this way the best results are obtained. In the opinion of most people I spoke to this action branded the girl as a potential sorcerer. Some referred to her as *kalku*, others merely as *weza kuzaw* (crazy or wrong-headed). Others among the local people felt that a mountain lion had killed her and that she had been devoured by lions and other animals, but the majority, including the young Mapuche with whom I was living (a Protestant missionary apprentice), were convinced that the *shompalwe* had taken all but her foot into the water to live with him. No one would look very closely for other remains. No funeral ceremony was held, even though her parents were able to identify the foot by the shoe.

It is commonly believed that the soul (*am*) is able to leave the body during sleep or illness. When it does under either circumstance, it runs the risk of being taken captive by a witch, and the body is in danger of dying. Shamans, however, are able to recall or recover the soul of a sick person, especially that of a comatose client who responds to massage, cold-shock applications, and herbal infusions (if these are able to be administered), thereby preventing death. Soul loss is a recurrent theme in stories of illness, although not the only cause of sickness and death. Intrusive black magic is also practiced by sorcerers, venoms being carried by all forms of *wekufe* and by evil spirits who appear in dreams. There is little evidence of actual poisoning, however, in the sense of one person placing poison in the food or drink of an intended victim. Such practices are resorted to, although infrequently, but it is doubtful if the substance administered is really fatal.

Ancestral spirits which return to Mapucheland and are captured by *kalku*, or those which never succeed in making the transition to the halcyon spirit world and thus become contaminated before leaving earth, are by definition forces of evil. They are invisible, except insofar as they are transformed into *witranalwe* and other forms of *wekufe*, or when they return in dreams as spectral forms. They are literally bloodsuckers, and they bring ultimate death to their victims. They are ugly, except

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for the *shompalwe*, and after once killing their first victim they become insatiable, continually on the prowl to obtain victims.

Visions of departed kinsmen in dreams do not necessarily mean one will become ill, as I have already indicated, but they do have an unsettling effect on the dreamer. Dreams of good omen are discussed with relatives, whose agreement is sought that the dream is without doubt a good one. Because there is nearly always some feeling that ancestors could have been treated better in life and propitiated more often and with more care in death, people tend to feel unsure of their appearance in dreams. If there is not full agreement about the import of a dream, a person usually pours frequent libations and offers personal prayers to his ancestors, and one might even seek the counsel of a shaman before the ill effects of the dream are actually experienced. There is a margin of safety present, since the effect of a bad dream as well as that of all black magic works slowly. One, therefore, has to have recurrent dreams of ill omen or has to be repeatedly exposed to magical forces, before illness takes firm hold. However, an individual who deliberates on his evil fortune is prone to interpret minor ailments as serious ones and actually sickens from fear. The shaman, then, is the only available recourse.

Key Origin Myths

Mapuche mythology is rich and varied, pan-Mapuche myths having many local expressions. I have selected three myths from this large inventory in order to show particularly the fundamental nature of Mapuche mythology and to indicate how this relates (as it does not in all cases) to notions of morality—good, evil, and redemption.

The import of local variation is sociological rather than culturological. The basic theme of the first myth, that of Tren Tren and Kai Kai, variations on which are reported in all important works on the Mapuche, is common knowledge to all Mapuche. The local expressions or variations involve the fabrication of linkage between contemporary Mapuche and their supposed ancestral progenitors, the founders of the Mapuche "race." This fabrication is of the same order as genealogical manipulation, mentioned in the previous chapter. It is a binding

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539 eighth day. The kalku said that they had delayed too long, and that from then on the spirits of the two drowned men would be evil spirits in her command. She had taken the men from the sea and placed them in the Volcano Villarrica, where she had her rehü. She told the mourners that there the spirits would remain, and that from then on they would cause great harm to people. They would create great floods or periods of drought, which would ruin the crops of their people, and which would cause many animals to die. The mourners returned to the coast to await the witch's prediction.

One day, four days after arriving in Toltén, two nameless birds appeared to the mourners. These birds nodded their heads in greeting, and told the people that they would take the names of Tramalcufu and Winkalcufu, and would succeed in breaking the kalku's control over them. This was on the condition that the people would thereafter stage a ñillatun ceremony for their benefit each year on this day. They first used the word ñillatun. The people adopted the word and have held the ceremony every year since that time long ago. This is the way ñillatun originated among the Mapuche.

[796] The next story partially accounts for the origin of a refractive image of the sea god, *lafkenfucha*, whose image is deified as a generalized ancestor by certain groups along the coast south of Toltén. This figure's name is Manquián, and the myth is as follows.

Many years ago there lived a man by the name of Manquián. He was a shellfisher, and he lived near the beach. One day, when he was in the water, his feet became stuck to two rocks in the following manner. One foot stuck to a rock, and the other was free. When Manquián managed to free his foot, the other became fixed to the rock. This happened over and over again. Finally, both feet became stuck fast to two rocks. Manquián was unable to move from the place. He cried out to his people to help him.

Many of his people came to see him. Many shamans came to hold a great machitun. It was a very solemn occasion. The people burned many offerings of meat and sacrificed animals of all kinds. The machitun lasted three days, and during this time Manquián partook of the meat. Then Manquián began to turn gradually to stone. One day he turned to stone up to

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his ankles, the next day up to the middle of his calf, and so on. When he became stone up to his stomach, he was no longer able to eat and he told the people not to bring him any more meat. He told his people to burn the meat, so that the smoke would rise up to the sky and nourish his spirit. When he turned completely to stone and died. He told them to go to their houses afterward. They did his bidding.

Manquián was turned to stone from head to foot. This stone Manquián, now a fenechen, is no longer visible from the shore. The people believe that he is lord of the sea, a fisher of souls and protector of his people. He has much power and we offer him meat every year, when there is fillatun.

Again, this myth attempts to account for a close kinship bond between the local inhabitants, Manquián's people, and their god of the sea. Manquián is identified with the pan-Mapuche sea god, *Iafkenfucha*, and appears as a local manifestation of him. There are numerous other accounts of this sort in other regions—coast, valley, and mountains—all of which serve to bring the gods within the system of lineal filiation and thereby reinforce the traditional sanctions of Mapuche morality. I state this in purposive terms, because to argue whether the concept is or was a conscious fabrication or simply an unconscious development is meaningless to this study.

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several reservations which form traditional segments of the ritual congregation. The respective chiefs and *ñillatufe* (ideally, one or more of the chiefs) and the various lineage heads assemble to discuss the matter and do the major planning. The arrangement of the smaller, promissory ceremonies is not as complicated, decisions generally being made by the lineage head after discussion with the elders of his reservation.

Shamans are sometimes invited to these conclaves, but this is not common, even though it might even be understood beforehand that a *machi* will conduct most of the prayers of the forthcoming ceremony. Sometimes shamans are specifically excluded from participating in the ceremony, although they are never excluded as spectators, and may even be honored guests. *Machis*, however, might sometimes instigate *ñillatun* celebrations, as was clearly the case in a ceremony I witnessed near Angol, in the northern part of Mapucheland, where chieftainship is weak and where corporate structure of reservations is not always strong. When *machis* are called in to perform at *ñillatun*, it is a last-ditch expediency—so that some sort of religious ceremony may be held.

The preliminary meeting ends with an agreement about details of the approaching ceremony. All *ñillatun* that I observed were held around the full of the moon. The principal reason seems to have been that the connection between fertility associated with the fulness of the moon is taken to mean that the god of the moon (*kuyenfucha*) is especially receptive to human offerings at this time. Once agreement has been reached, word is passed throughout the general region, formally to those people who are members of the most responsible units of the ritual congregation and informally to other persons who live on the periphery of the congregational unit and who may attend as spectators. The formal notice includes details concerning the exact purpose of the ceremony, the contributions which are expected from certain families, what shall be brought in the way of food and drink, and so forth. Then begins a rather feverish (in that people are doing things not ordinarily performed) though simple preparation on the part of all concerned. The people prepare quantities of bread and meat, *chicha* and *mudai*, mend or buy clothing for the occasion, polish their heirloom

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796 782 brief prayer to *ñenechen* and the generalized ancestors, the hawks of the sun. Then he bites into the heart and passes it to the one or more assisting *ñillatufe* on his right. Each official in turn offers the sheep's heart skyward, utters a short prayer, bites into the heart. The main priest then places the heart in the croth of the *rewe*. His arms and face are smeared with blood, which he wipes off on the *rewe* pole and on the sacred branches surrounding it. The other officials do the same. A bowl of sheep's blood, collected from the throat incision, is placed at the right side of the altar, and from this bowl the *ñillatufe* occasionally asperses the *rewe* and the ritual fire (*llupe*) which burns near it. Some blood is also burned on the special fire ignited near the *llañi*, or secondary altar. When all this is accomplished, the *ñillatufe* commands that the in-place dancing begin.

Meanwhile, the carcass of the sheep is carried to the *llañi*, where it is skinned and quartered. The sheepskin is then [825] brought back and laid beside the *rewe*. A black skin, which calls [821] for rain, is placed to the left of the altar and a white skin, for sunny weather, is placed under the bowl of blood on the right. Some of the meat from the sheep is burned on the *llañi* fire. The head and feet of the animal are thrown into the fire in most cases and, if the people are not extremely poor in animals, most of the rest of the carcass is also burned. If they are poor in animals, most of the meat is taken off when cooked and then [769] consumed as part of a ritual feast. The smoke which rises to the sky is the morning offering to the ancestral spirits, for which the [796] *llañi* is a special altar. Around the *rewe*, the most concern is for *ñenechen* and the pantheon of minor gods, and the sacrifices are of a somewhat different order.

After the in-place dancing is completed, the *ñillatufe* starts the second stanza of prayer. This time he scatters grain, asking for abundant harvests. The grain is taken from one of several wooden bowls next to the *rewe*. Some of it is thrown on the *llupe* fire. Again, as the smoke rises, a short prayer is offered to [769] *ñenechen* and the pantheon. Ancestors may not even be mentioned at this time. Most attention is given to the god and goddess of abundance, the *kapüka*.

The second in-place dance is performed to the commands of

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12 which hinges on any human death—relationships integral to the structure of Mapuche morality.

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[754] To the outsider the most impressive aspect of any funeral is that the atmosphere is charged with a fear of sorcery and the presence of malevolent spirits. As discussed in Chapter Three, [796] death is supernaturally caused, even accidental death (*wesa l'an*), [764] and strange noises and other omens of evil are reported in [789] the community after a death. Evil is a cumulative force. The Mapuche are sometimes hard-pressed to explain the death of old people in this context, at least with the logic they apply to untimely death, but they give substantial evidence that no matter what the circumstances, they believe death is attributable [165] to the forces of evil. Formerly, Mapuche are believed to have lived to be centenarians, some having achieved the two-hundred-year mark. Nowadays, Mapuche live no longer than Chileans. The burgeoning arm of *wekufe* is always with them. Almost every house—from someone's point of view—has its *kalku*.

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795 When the corpse is still in the house, during the wake, its spirit is called *l'ayen*; once out of the house, on the ceremonial field, it is called *pellu* (among other names). The point is, that fear of the well-being of the spirit begins immediately when death occurs. During the wake, the *amupellun* (roughly, "so the spirit may go") is automatically and repeatedly practiced, performed in order to release the spirit from the confines of the house and to chase away the *wekufe*. When there are signs that the *wekufe* are lurking about the house, the spirit is still *l'ayen*, which means that the beginnings of the funeral service have not been completely successful.

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152 Spontaneous imprecations of the evil spirits at the wake and formalized wailing and further imprecation at the funeral ceremony occur on all occasions of death. The community is truly fearful, remorseful, and determined to perform the funeral rites in the most perfect manner known to them. Furthermore, because of this rampant fear, there is a need felt by all who assist at the funeral to clear one's self, one's lineage, and one's household from complicity in death. Attendance and expressions of *kume piuke* symbolize before the entire ritual community that all those in mourning, or those represented by kinsmen who are mourners, are pure in heart.

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754 power and the confirmation of success condition the activities of a *kalku*.

Most of those persons thought to be *kalku* are described as old women, or middle-aged women. I am unclear as to what is supposed to happen to the young girls pressed into service, unless it takes many years for them to develop their powers or, at least, develop them sufficiently to practice homicidal sorcery. I knew of no young sorcerers having a clientele. This was never explained to my satisfaction, except for the indication that a witch must mature before she can deal successfully with the forces of evil. The younger women occasionally whispered about in connection with sorcery were never described as powerful, professional *kalku*. Rather than dealing in death, they dealt in love potions to secure mates for designing men and women, in undermining the favor of certain co-wives (in the compound or *lofche*), and in other sorts of petty and malicious acts far short of serious illness and death. These young women seem never to have charged for their services.

754 888 Old women are especially suspect (although infrequently among themselves). They are thought to be envious of the young, and there is some evidence that they are. They have had long experience with magic and are felt to harbor general hostility toward people around them. Old men are not so judged; nor are women with pleasant dispositions. The women with the most pleasing dispositions are usually those living in the most favorable circumstances, those with husbands or children to care for them, those able to invite guests to their house, and to play a respectable, matronly role in community activities. The old woman who lives alone, who nags her son or brother to support her, who complains volubly if they do not, who mutters to herself while going about the countryside for no apparently good reason, who might well have been near the scene of some misfortune—an old woman of this sort is generally suspected of being adept in the black art. This is even more widely the opinion if she is an in-married crone who has survived her husband and many of her children. But no one is entirely free from suspicion, at least not on all occasions.

754 .776 According to Mapuche definition, a professional *kalku* is any person who controls one or more evil spirits, most generally a

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woman who engages in evil practices for a clientele. While many persons are said to know magic incantations and may summon the forces of evil in their own behalf, they are felt to have but little if any power, and are not deemed professionals in the absence of a clientele. Principal among the supernatural beings controlled by a *kalku* are her own ancestral spirits, those of other *kalku*, as well as spirits which she has captured. As with *machi*, there is no female line involved, but *kalku* do manipulate spirits ancestral to their own natal lineage. In contrast to *machi*, therefore, *kalku* are especially dangerous to their own closest relatives and their ancestors, ancestors of linked lineages in the traditional matrilateral marriage system. A powerful *kalku* may control many spirits captured by her, the unprotected spirits of the dead whom she converts into *wekufe* and who assume various malevolent forms, such as *witranalwe*, *anchimallen*, *piwichen*, *chonchon*, and others. *Kalku*, then, are doubly feared because they not only practice evil but recruit their spirit helpers from their own ancestral group.

Kalku are not healers, are not given credit for having any knowledge of good. They are hired to do evil.[2] They poison through the agency of their supernatural aids; they cause their familiars to capture tired, unwary spirits—ritually impure souls and spirits of the dead—which they use to their own evil ends. *Kalku*'s spirits never die, never leave earth, but are inherited in essence as familiars of descendants or converts.

The community rejoices when a *kalku* dies. I witnessed this twice and heard many stories about it. Both times I saw this attitude expressed were on occasions of *ñillatun*, held after the death of a suspected *kalku* (but not for the express purpose of celebrating her death). The death of witches was mentioned in the *ñillatun* oration by way of giving thanks to *Nenechen* and the protecting ancestors. Again and again it was hoped that the *kalku*'s spirit would be chased elsewhere to live and do evil. The special idiom in which joy was expressed involved the phrase "a dog has died." On each of these occasions, the *kalku*'s family

[2] This poses a problem with regard to vengeancy-by-witchcraft. If revenge is itself socially sanctioned, can it of itself or can its human agents be considered evil? How is this dichotomy to be regarded with respect to function, dysfunction, sorcery?